

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: A Linguistic Commentary and a Comparative Study

Laura Massetti



ANCIENT LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BRILL

Laura Massetti, 9789004694132
Downloaded from Brill.com 04/17/2024 02:04:47 AM

via     歷史文化中心 access.
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: A Linguistic Commentary and a Comparative Study

Ancient Languages and Civilizations

Editor-in-Chief

CHEN Zhi (*Research Centre for History and Culture,
Beijing Normal University & UIC, China*)

Associate Editors

Carlotta Viti (*Research Centre for History and Culture, Beijing
Normal University & UIC, China*)

WANG Xiang (Shawn Wang) (*BNU-HKBU United International College, China*)

Editorial Board

Luz Conti (*Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain*) – Paola Cotticelli
(*University of Verona, Italy*) – Trevor Evans (*Macquarie University, Australia*) –
Yegor Grebnev (*Research Centre for History and Culture, Beijing Normal
University & UIC, China*) – Laura Loporcaro (*University of Oxford, United
Kingdom*) – Marco Mancini (*University “La Sapienza”, Italy*) – Daniel Petit
(*École Pratique des Hautes Études, France*) – Yuri Pines (*Hebrew University of
Jerusalem, Israel*) – S.A.S. Sarma (*Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient, India*) –
Adam Craig Schwartz (*Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong, China*) –
ZHANG Wei (*Fudan University, China*) – ZHOU Yiqun
(*Stanford University, USA*)

Advisory Board

Giuliano Boccali (*State University of Milan, Italy*) – CHEN Zhan (*Research
Centre for History and Culture, Beijing Normal University & UIC, China*) –
Ekkehard König (*Free University of Berlin, Germany*) – Maria Kozińska
(*Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Germany*) – Frédéric Lambert (*Bordeaux
Montaigne University, France*) – Glenn W. Most (*University of Chicago, USA*) –
Anna Orlandini (*University of Toulouse-Jean Jaurès, France*) – Thomas
Schneider (*University of British Columbia, Canada*) – Edward L. Shaughnessy
(*University of Chicago, USA*) – Hans van Ess (*Ludwig Maximilian University of
Munich, Germany*)

VOLUME 06

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/alac

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: A Linguistic Commentary and a Comparative Study

By

Laura Massetti



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.



香港浸會大學
HONG KONG BAPTIST UNIVERSITY

Publication of this volume was generously sponsored by the
HKBU Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology—Amway
Development Fund.

This book was produced in the framework of the project *The Lords of the Rings: A Comparative Lens on Ring-Compositions of Greek Lyric Poetry* (MSCA0000083-project LORACOLA) funded through the program “NEXT Generation EU, NRRP M4C2” (CUP C61B 22002760001).

Cover illustration: Details from Cycladic pithos, ca. 660 BCE, catalogue nr. CA 795, Musée du Louvre, Paris / Photograph: Laura Massetti

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Massetti, Laura, author.

Title: Pindar's Pythian twelve : a linguistic commentary and a comparative study /
Laura Massetti.

Other titles: Ancient languages and civilizations ; 6.

Description: Boston : Brill, 2024. | Series: Ancient languages and civilizations,
2667-3770 ; 6 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024006172 (print) | LCCN 2024006173 (ebook) |

ISBN 9789004688070 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004694132 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Pindar. Pythian odes. 12. | Pindar—Criticism and interpretation.

Classification: LCC PA4274.P5 M37 2024 (print) | LCC PA4274.P5 (ebook) |

DDC 821/.914—dc23/eng/20240325

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024006172>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024006173>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2667-3770

ISBN 978-90-04-68807-0 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-69413-2 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004694132

Copyright 2024 by Laura Massetti. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface IX

List of Figures, Tables, Schemes and Charts XIX

Abbreviations XXI

PART 1

Pindar's Pythian Twelve: Text and Linguistic Commentary

- 1 Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: Date, Performance, and Myth 3
 - 1 The Ode 3
 - 2 Date 5
 - 3 Midas' Victory and Performance 7
 - 4 The Myth 10
- 2 *Pythian Twelve's* Ring-Composition 12
 - 1 Ring-Composition and Ring-Compositions 12
 - 2 Inherited Rings: Pindar and the *Rigveda* 14
 - 3 Ring-Composition in *Pythian Twelve* 15
 - 4 Schematic Representation 17
 - 5 Descriptive Analysis 20
- 3 Linguistic Remarks 22
 - 1 Pindar's *Kunstsprache*: Introduction 22
 - 2 The Pindaric *Kunstsprache* in *Pythian Twelve* 23
- 4 Text 28
 - 1 Colometry 28
 - 2 Synopsis of Readings 29
 - 3 Text 29
 - 4 Translation 31
- 5 Linguistic Commentary 32
 - 1 Invocation (1–6) 32
 - 1.1 *Excursus: στέφανος and στεφάνωμα in Pindar* 41
 - 2 Transition (7–8) and Myth (8–24) 43
 - 2.1 *Weaving Songs: A 'Gendered Metaphor'?* 51
 - 2.2 *Weaving Songs in Pindar and Indo-European* 53

- 3 Transition (25–27) 76
- 4 *Gnōmai* (28–32) 80
- 6 The νόμος πολυκέφαλος in Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca* 85
 - 1 The Gorgons' Bellowing in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 85
 - 2 Nonn. *D.* 24.35–38 86
 - 3 Nonn. *D.* 40.215–233 88
 - 4 Nonn. *D.* 30.264–267 91
 - 5 Conclusions 92

PART 2

A Melody with Multiple Heads: A Vedic Parallel to Pindar's Pythian Twelve

- 7 Introduction: A Comparative Approach to the Myth of *Pythian Twelve* 95
 - 1 Methodological Premises 95
 - 2 *Rigveda* 10.67 as a Comparandum 96
 - 3 *Similia inter dissimilia* 98
 - 4 Comparative Plan 100
- 8 Br̥haspati and the Poetic Vision of Seven Heads. *Rigveda* 10.67: Text and Commentary 102
 - 1 Introduction 102
 - 2 Repetitions and Rings in *Rigveda* 10.67 104
 - 3 Text and Translation 106
 - 4 Commentary 108
- 9 How to Find a Song of Multiple Heads: Collocations in Context 119
 - 1 Features of the Enemy and His/Her Abode (Mytho-geography) 119
 - 1.1 *The Gorgons' Abode* 119
 - 1.2 *Which Tradition(s) Does Pindar Follow?* 121
 - 1.3 *The Daughters of Phorcus* 124
 - 1.4 *Vala: Location and Descriptions* 127
 - 1.5 *Features of the Enemy and His/Her Abode (Mytho-geography): Common Traits* 129
 - 2 Association with the *Base Collocation* [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT] 130

2.1	<i>From Lizards to Serpents</i>	130
2.2	<i>Reconstructing</i> [<i>PERSEUS-KILLS-SERPENTINE-GORGON</i>]*	132
2.3	<i>Indra's Combats</i>	134
2.3.1	Indra, His Enemies, and His Divine Escort	134
2.3.2	The Cave and the Mountain	135
2.3.3	How to Smash the Enclosing Thing	137
2.4	<i>Association with the Base Collocation</i> [<i>HERO-KILLS-SERPENT</i>]: <i>Common Traits</i>	140
3	<i>Association with the Collocation</i> [<i>HERO-DRIVES away-GOODS</i> (cattle, women etc.)]	141
3.1	<i>Perseus Rescuer of Women: The Fate of Danae and Andromeda</i>	141
3.2	<i>Medusa's Combat and Andromeda's Rescue</i>	144
3.3	<i>Indra(/Br̥haspati), Trita Āptya and Ōraētaona, Son of Āṅṁiia</i>	146
3.4	<i>Waters, Cows, and Women</i>	147
3.5	<i>Association with the Collocation</i> [<i>HERO-DRIVES away-GOODS</i> (cattle, women etc.)]: <i>Common Traits</i>	151
4	<i>Acoustic Dimensions of the Narratives</i>	152
4.1	<i>Perseus' Cry and/or Cheering</i>	152
4.2	<i>The Enemy's Voice</i>	154
4.3	<i>Athena's Musical Invention</i>	156
4.4	<i>Vala-Myth's Acoustic: Br̥haspati's Roar</i>	157
4.5	<i>Vala Laments</i>	161
4.6	<i>Angirasas' and Marutas' Songs</i>	162
4.7	<i>Acoustic Dimensions of the Narratives: Common Traits</i>	166
5	<i>Overview</i>	167
6	[<i>GOD-INVENTS-SONG-MULTIPLE-HEADS</i> _{adj./gen.}]	169
10	<i>Midas' δόξα and Br̥haspati's dákṣinā</i>	173
1	Midas' Toil and Glory	173
2	Midas and Perseus	174
3	Midas and Athena	175
4	Gk. δόξα and Ved. dákṣinā	177
5	Conclusions	179

Bibliography 183

Index of Selected Names, Things, and Collocations 226

Index of Selected Words 228

Index of Authors and Works 231

Preface

1 Generalities

This work on Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* is conceived both as a linguistic commentary and a comparative study. A small part of the material presented in the book was originally covered in the final chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation, *Phraseologie und indogermanische Dichtersprache in der Sprache der griechischen Chorlyrik: Pindar und Bakchylides*, defended on July 22, 2016 at the University of Cologne. However, the chapter was not included in the version of my doctoral thesis published online (Massetti 2019). The redaction of the book was possible thanks to my work on the project *The Lords of the Rings: A Comparative Lens on Ring-Compositions of Greek Lyric Poetry* (acronym LORACOLA, project nr. MSCA_0000083), carried out at University of Naples "L'Orientale" (December 2022–December 2025), and financed through the program "NEXT Generation EU, funds NRRP (Italian PNRR) M4C2".

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*, which honours the aulete Midas of Acragas, stands out as the only choral lyric epinicion in our possession composed for the winner of a non-athletic competition. Over the years, various aspects of the ode have been subject to thorough study, including its myth (e.g. Dolin 1965, Köhnken 1971, Bernardini in Gentili 2006⁴), performance, and musical dimension (Phillips 2013 and 2016). Often regarded as an ode of relatively straightforward interpretation (Radt 1974), close analysis of the text reveals that the epinicion presents several challenges to modern readers.

The main goals of the book are:

- (i) to provide an updated translation and linguistic commentary of the text;
- (ii) to investigate the main interpretative issues of the epinicion with the aid of historical linguistics;
- (iii) to provide insights into the thematic aspects of the ode as well as on Pindar's compositional technique, through the identification of devices, which Pindar might have inherited from earlier periods of poetic language.

The work is divided into two parts. Part 1, "Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: Text and Linguistic Commentary", comprises a short introduction, a structural analysis of the poem and a series of remarks concerning the language of the ode, with particular reference to its dialectal colour. The aim of the introduction is to provide an 'orientational' overview on the ode as a prelude to both the commentary and the comparative mythological study. Pindar's text is then presented with a critical apparatus and my own translation. Besides concentrating

on the textual and interpretative issues of the poem, the commentary includes etymological notes and remarks on possible phraseological parallels for single Pindaric expressions, both *ex Pindaro ipso*, i.e. drawn from Pindar's corpus, and *ex Graeco ipso*, i.e. drawn from other Greek literary sources. Part 1 concludes with an analysis of *Pythian Twelve*'s echoes in Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca*, the only literary source in our possession that preserves any reference to the same mythological tradition as that found in *Pythian Twelve*.

Part 2, "A Melody with Multiple Heads: A Vedic Parallel to Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*", is a thematic, structural and phraseological comparison of features of *Pythian Twelve* with those of an Old Indic religious hymn, *Rigveda* (RV) 10.67. Part 2 starts by presenting the Old Indic text that is juxtaposed to *Pythian Twelve*. The Vedic hymn, taken from van Nooten and Holland's (1994) edition, is accompanied by Jamison and Brereton's (2014) English translation and my own commentary, which highlights the aspects of RV 10.67 that are most relevant to the comparative study. The purely contrastive section of the book focuses on possible common elements between episodes from the Greek Perseus myth and the Old Indic myths of Vala and Vṛtra. My hypothesis is that *Pythian Twelve*'s mythological narrative is constructed on inherited thematic and phraseological material, which Pindar employs to fashion his own work.

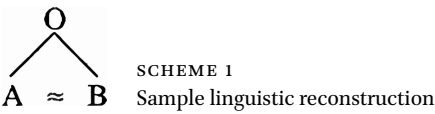
I concentrate on remarkable structural and stylistic similarities between my two comparanda as well as on similar compositional purposes and criteria or 'states of things', which underlie the Pindaric and Rigvedic texts. The *Rigveda* is a collection of sacred texts written in Vedic Sanskrit comprising 1028 hymns mostly dedicated to deities who were the subjects of Vedic rituals. Since the very first Indo-European studies, scholars have recognized impressive word-by-word (or even phoneme-by-phoneme) correspondences between short syntagms attested in Greek texts of the Archaic and Classical Ages and those attested in Vedic poetry. Over the years, the identification of multiple *aequabilia* has demonstrated the fruitfulness of a comparison between Vedic and Greek Archaic poetry, even for studies of what we know about Greek phraseology and compositional technique within Greek, and Vedic phraseology and compositional technique within Vedic. Indeed, the comparative approach enhances our understanding of the history behind the use of the constituents of ancient poetic texts, such as combinations of words, motifs and themes. A comparative lens on these devices highlights the conservative character of inherited compositional techniques, which possessed sufficient flexibility to guarantee semantic integrity as well as historical continuity of the inherited themes through time and space. Ultimately this allowed their poetic expressions and structures to survive within diverse cognate traditions.

I argue that comparative focus on Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* yields new results. The study carried out in Part 2 of this book sheds light on a variety of aspects of Pindar's language and style, which escape any merely synchronic analysis. The study shows that some poetic devices employed by Pindar, namely: lexical, semantic and phraseological repetitions, which shape 'rings' within the ode, precisely parallel those found in the Old Indic tradition at both structural and semantic levels. The quantity and quality of these correspondences suggest that they should not be regarded as independent manifestations of universals, i.e. parallel creations of human creativity. Conversely, they are best explained as a common poetic inheritance. This insight invites us to reflect on (i) Pindar's style in relation to his Greek literary ancestors (hexameter poetry, other melic poets etc.), (ii) Pindar's style in relation to Pindar, i.e. on original and novel aspects of his poetry, (iii) the prehistory of choral lyric as a poetic genre, a problem which this study does not attempt to discuss at length. Finally, the attention paid to analogous systems of images, documented in Pindar and the Rigvedic hymns, allows us to reconstruct shared systems of concepts, all of which ultimately pivot on the idea of glory and reward to be achieved in and through poetry. The comparative phraseological reconstruction thus paves the way for the reconstruction of common 'states of things'.

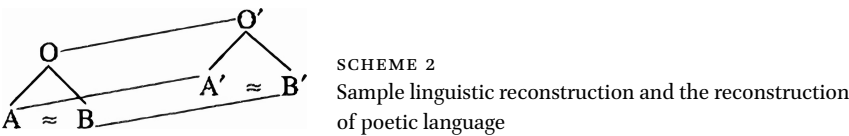
2 Methodological Limits of Comparative Philology

Before expanding on how this study considers macro-structures, I must touch upon a few methodological matters. As partly anticipated, Comparative Philology applies the linguistic comparative method to expressions found in two or more Indo-European languages in order to reconstruct previous stages, which may be called 'descriptively pre-historic' and 'descriptively Indo-European', of the artistic usage of language peculiar to two historically attested traditions. The methodological premise of this reconstruction is that the artistic usages of cognate languages are just as strongly related as their grammatical aspects. Hence, the comparative method is primarily concerned with genetic linguistic reconstruction. That is, it aims at explaining how and to what extent two linguistic traditions are connected and where they stand in relation to each other, as well as to their possible common ancestor. By borrowing simplified schemes and examples from Watkins (1995:5–6, including SCHEMES 1–2, below), it is possible to visualize the simplest model of linguistic reconstruction as a case in which two languages A (e.g. Greek) and B (e.g. Vedic Sanskrit) exhibit *systematic* similarities on every level of grammar (phonetics, morphology, syntax, and lexicon) "which cannot be attributed to borrowing nor to universals nor

to chance” (Watkins 1995:5). By comparing A and B we are able to tell *how* and *why* A resembles B and vice versa. Furthermore, we are able to account for the systematic similarities of the two languages by postulating a (proto-)language stage O from which both A and B derived.



It is often the case that languages A and B came to be used for artistic purposes, i.e. for poetics. If we designate the poetic language of A as A¹ and the poetic language of B as B¹, we can visualize the relation between A¹ and B¹ as analogous to that between A and B. In the same way as comparing A and B allows us to reconstruct a proto-language stage O, comparing A¹ and B¹ allows us to reconstruct a proto-*poetic*-language stage O¹: the relation of A¹ to B¹, and both to O¹ will resemble that of A to B, and both to O, cf.



Obviously, these are simplifications and, as such, they do not give a well-rounded idea of the complexity of the comparative work applied to poetic language. In an attempt to anticipate possible responses to sceptical criticism, I would like to address two problems in the following paragraphs: (i) what we are reconstructing and why, (ii) how the comparative work applied to poetics deals with universals.

Words like ‘philology’ (e.g. in ‘Comparative Philology’) and ‘reconstruction’ may create erroneous expectations for the reader. First of all, because the aim of Comparative Philology differs from that of general philology, the questions comparative philologists ask in their research are in some ways different than those of mainstream philologists. ‘Reconstructing’ implies setting up a theoretical model on the basis of linguistic elements (A and B derive from O, see above), i.e. not on the basis of continuously documented facts. The theoretical model followed here *assumes* that there was some (pre-)historical continuity between O¹ and A¹, and O¹ and B¹. However, being able to reconstruct a relationship between two poetic languages does not mean that we are able to parse the details of the historical transmission (from O¹ to A¹ and O¹ to B¹). It is, therefore, crucial to clarify that the purpose of Comparative Philo-

logy differs from that of other philologies, like Classical Philology, contrarily to what it is often (erroneously) believed. Although both disciplines are ultimately concerned with *how* expressions manifesting themselves in a linguistic form are preserved and/or transmitted, the methodological strength of Comparative Philology has a counterbalance in its structural limits. We are detecting formal correspondences among expressions occurring in traditions separated by *huge* chronological and geographical gaps: a 'perfect match' (see below, 'Phraseological and Linguistic Conventions, Definitions') between an expression attested in the corpus of a 5th century BCE Greek poet, like Pindar, and an Old Indic text which began to be composed in the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BCE, like the *Rigveda*, is to be considered a 'safe' piece of linguistic inheritance. We can exclude that the Greek-Vedic match in question

- (a) is a coincidence: it is anti-economic to think that two cognate traditions innovated in the same way independently, i.e. they used the same linguistic means to create the same poetic expression *independently*;
- (b) is due to linguistic contact: we can exclude that Pindar took a certain combination of lexemes from Vedic, because he had no contact with Vedic Sanskrit.

However, the reconstruction model of Comparative Philology does not go much further than this. Not only is there no way of telling *how* and *why* a specific expression survived in specific Greek and Vedic corpora, but it would also be unrealistic to wish to determine these things. The data in our possession being what they currently are, it is impossible to say precisely how that transmission happened. Certainly, Greek and Vedic poets must have learned how to be poets from their contemporaries but there is no way whatsoever to find out how aware poets (and their audiences) were of any IE poetic inheritance. Although, in some fortunate cases, we can identify a Greek model for Pindar or a model that is similar to a Vedic text, the data in our possession do not allow us to reconstruct how IE poetic inheritance came to be transmitted, so to say, *step by step*. Such a level of reconstructive detail is well beyond the scope of Comparative Philology. Nonetheless, renouncing reconstruction of the single steps of this historical transmission does not mean that they did not exist at all, but only acknowledges the limits of the comparative method as it stands.

On the contrary, the objectives of comparative philologists are to find out (1) to what extent analogous linguistic expressions of cognate traditions resemble each other; (2) how a previous (undated) stage of these cognate linguistic expressions which in most cases, would come from a combination of two or more IE roots, might have looked. Things like fixed combinations of terms are likely to have been passed through generations and generations of poets. On this basis we posit that they guaranteed semantic integrity and historical

continuity with inherited thematic material within the individual IE daughter languages after they diverged from the proto-language. Since the comparative method allows us to reconstruct a part of the stylistic and phraseological toolbox at the disposal of IE poets, we conclude that the character of IE compositional technique was highly conservative. On this aspect, although reconstructing how *exactly* this compositional technique worked is more than Comparative Philology can undertake, we can still focus on similarities and dissimilarities between comparanda with respect to their content and their individual compositional techniques.

3 Going beyond Atomic Comparisons and the Problem of the Universals

I stated above that “*systematic* similarities on every level of grammar (phonetics, morphology, syntax) which cannot be attributed to borrowing nor to universals nor to chance” guarantee that two languages A and B are related and derive from a common ancestor O (SCHEME 1). I also affirmed that the relationships between the poetic languages A¹ (of language A) and B¹ (of language B) with respect to O¹ (proto-poetic language stage of A¹ and B¹) are analogous to those of A and B to O (cf. SCHEME 2). We may now consider the implications of this for the reconstruction of the proto-artistic language stage in connection to the question of universals, i.e. independent creations of linguistic creativity found in any time and space. If we extend the three criteria ‘no borrowing, no universal, no chance’ to the study of poetic phraseology and myth, without any other specification, even the Indo-Europeaness of Indo-European poetic scaffoldings (e.g. the phraseme ‘unperishable glory’: Greek κλέος ἀφθιτον, Vedic śrávo ákṣitam), may turn out to be compromised. Indeed, we may ask how we can be sure that a concept occurring in two Indo-European traditions is not found anywhere else in the world. The truth is, we cannot. As a matter of fact, a variety of poetic *concepts* and structural devices occur, in different linguistic forms, in non-Indo-European traditions as well. This does not automatically make concepts or structural devices non-Indo-European, less Indo-European or trivial correspondences. The level of ‘concept’ or ‘structure’ and the level of their linguistic manifestations must be kept apart. Despite the frequency of expressions like ‘Indo-European idea/ideology’ (and the like) in scientific literature, it is often not correct to expect that something like ‘an Indo-European concept/idea’ exists in the first place. Conversely, it is more correct to say that a concept or even a compositional structure, which is virtually universal, is *declined*, i.e. *expressed* in a certain way within sister Indo-

European traditions. 'Declining a concept/structure' and even a 'myth' within cognate traditions means that a certain concept/structure will take on a precise formal, i.e. linguistic, aspect or that we will be able to frame synonymous expressions/significant narrative details within a system of images, metaphors, similes as they *combine* together in a systematic way. In conclusion, we deal with macro-structures (e.g. themes, myths, compositional structures etc.), i.e. with what we may call 'poetic grammar', in a different way than we deal with formal grammar.

How the comparative method works when applied to macro-structures (e.g. themes, myths, compositional structures etc.) deserves further clarification. As already anticipated, the comparative method makes the reconstruction of common linguistic ancestors between two or more elements (sounds, words, phrases etc.) rely on *systematic* correspondences, allowing one to recognize a given phenomenon as 'regular'. This way of proceeding, however, is not well-suited to the comparative study of phraseology and themes. The further the comparison detaches from the atomic dimensions of two linguistic cognates (sounds, single words etc.), the more difficult it becomes to claim that something is inherited. Paradoxically, phraseological and thematic similarities are often perceptible to the naked eye or to the ear of a modern scholarly audience. However, most similarities turn out to be vague, inconsistent, unsystematic and consequently not as convincing as those evidenced at the levels of phonetics, morphology and word-structure (cf. the critics to Watkins 1995 by Ogden 2013:21). They appear diluted and faded because they lack any phonetic precision to tether them. The comparative study carried out in the second part of the book targets this very limbo, trying to cope with the issues a comparativist has to face in reconstructing inherited themes and phraseology. To address this, my investigation attempts to follow the methodological path opened by seminal studies such as those by Toporov [publ. post. Toporovna 2012], Durante (1962, 1976), Schmitt (1967), and fully developed by Campanile (e.g. 1977, 1990), Watkins (representatively, 1995) and García Ramón (2000). Not only does the scientific work of these scholars prove that historical linguistics, and in particular, the comparative approach, offers powerful means to elucidate various aspects of Archaic Greek poetry in general, and Pindar in particular (see García Ramón 2000, Watkins 2001, 2002a, 2002b), but it also lays out the basis for new work in the field of Comparative Philology. The forementioned studies show that comparative phraseological analysis actually allows us to reach plausible conclusions on inherited poetic stock, even when it operates with non-perfect word-/collocation-correspondences, while the phenomenon of lexical renewal is regulated by a variety of patterns that can be studied and described in detail. Furthermore, the combinatory phraseological approach allows us to frame

single phraseological tokens within wider systems of concepts and images as well as within inherited 'states of things'. According to this method, isolated features attested in different linguistic contexts may be combined together on the strength of their complementarity. Such complementarity, in turn, allows us to recompose the puzzle of complex metaphors or associations which have their 'limbs' 'scattered' in diverse but related traditions. This methodological legacy is particularly dear to me as a scholar of Indo-European poetics, as I am seeking to pursue it further and to contribute to demonstrating its soundness and effectiveness with this new study.

Contrasting entire myths or entire compositions attested in two different though related traditions is, undeniably, a particularly challenging task. An initial problem is how it is possible to *select* two very different texts, such as, in this specific case, a victory ode composed by Pindar in the early 5th century BCE and a religious hymn to a Vedic god allegedly composed around the end of the 2nd millennium BCE. It is clear that these two works were created within different cultural frameworks. Moreover, they responded to the demands of different occasions. Lastly, they were 'internally governed' by the rules of their respective literary genres, which thrived and developed independently, each within its own tradition. Hence, the choice of this *unusual* and, one may say, hybrid format 'Text, Linguistic Commentary + Comparative Essay' may be considered an attempt to cope with the complex interaction between the synchronic and diachronic aspects of texts that are extremely complicated and profoundly different.

Since synchronic dimensions are such fundamental constituents of these texts, they must be the starting point for a sound diachronic analysis. In connection to Pindar, I must start by drawing attention to the occasion for which the ode was composed, then examine the text and its 'shape'. Such a critical analysis is necessary if one is to provide the reader with as much information as possible about the philological problems of the text. Once the synchronic issues are outlined, it becomes necessary to deal with the diachronic questions, hence the problem of the *selection* of possible comparanda for Pindar's myth.

In my previous and current comparative mythology work, I set two fundamental criteria for the selection of potential comparanda: discrepancy and isolation within synchrony. That is, if a narrative or phraseological detail is apparently inexplicable and rare within its own context, but conserved in another context by a certain author, this detail has potential for a diachronic comparison. In the case of the present study, the criterion of *isolation* played a major role in the selection of my comparandum for the Pindaric phraseological structure and myth. My choice of the Old Indic comparandum fell on RV 10.67

because this hymn preserves a *unique* phraseological structure, namely: “deity invents a seven-headed poetic thought” that strikingly resembles the *unique* Greek collocation “the goddess invented ... tune of many heads”, found at 22–23 of Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve*. With my phraseological investigation I try to show that Pindar and RV 10.67, apparently dealing with completely different myths, inherited the same thematic material.

Overall, with this work I endeavour to respond to what I imagine might be the different demands of its potential readers, which I hope shall be a wide, non-necessarily highly specialized audience, ranging from students and scholars in the field of Indo-European studies and comparative philology with an interest in the reconstruction of inherited structures, motifs, phraseology and myth, to students and scholars of Classical literature with an interest in the comparative aspects of Greek poetic language. Indeed, it is possible to state that the two parts of the book have different but complementary ‘concerns’, which may be pertinent to such a heterogeneous audience. While Part 1 mainly deals with the problems of the Pindaric texts, between synchrony and diachrony, i.e. with workings of a system within a given time and place and the transformation of a system through time (Nagy 1990a:4–5), Part 2 is more about diachronic concerns. Although this book will not solve the issues it addresses once and for all, my personal goal is to show what comparative philology can do to enlighten us on Pindar’s poetic language or, at least, open a debate about it. I will thus consider myself satisfied if this study provides new inputs for reflection and discussion on the dynamics underlying Pindaric language.

Acknowledgments

My first and outmost thanks goes to my mother and father, as well as to my inner-circle people for the unconditional love they gave me during the time I have been working and reworking on this book: I owe them everything. A second goes to my ‘academic family’, i.e. the people with whom I first discussed some ideas collected in the book: my *Doktorvater*, José Luis García Ramón, and my *Doktor-geschwister*: Andrea Lorenzo Covini, Riccardo Ginevra, and Matilde Serangeli.

I would like to express a special thanks to several colleagues and friends who helped me with their expertise on various matters. For their bibliographical help and advice on points of details, Matteo D’Acunto, Anna Maria D’Onofrio, Eijirō Dōyama, Patrick Finglass, Stefan Hagel, Angelo O. Mercado, Riccardo Palmisciano, Tiziana Pontillo, Eleonora Rocconi, Paola Maria Rossi, Velizar Sadvovski, Marco Sciascia, Tullia Spinedi, Patrick Stiles, and Carlotta Viti.

A special thanks goes to John Perchard, whom I involved in a painstaking proofreading process and provided me with invaluable advice on my translation and my text.

I am also grateful to the Editorial Board of ALAC, Wendy Logeman, Marlou Meems, and Elisa Perotti for their support.

The standard disclaimers apply.

Figures, Tables, Schemes and Charts

Figures

- 1 Structure of *Pythian Twelve*, according to Mezger 1880:201 15
- 2 Cycladic pithos, ca. 660 BCE, catalogue nr. CA 795, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / photograph: Hervé
Lewandowski 131
- 3 Black-figure Corinthian amphora from Cerveteri, 575–550 BCE, Altes Museum,
Berlin © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung / photograph: Ingrid
Geske CC BY-SA 4.0, F 1652. 143

Tables

- 1 *Pythian Twelve*, lexical repetitions 16
- 2 *Pythian Twelve*, semantic repetitions 17
- 3 *Pythian Twelve*, phraseological repetitions 17
- 4 Colometry 28
- 5 Synopsis of readings 29
- 6 Chronological order and mythological digression 45
- 7 *Rigveda* 10.67, lexical repetitions 104
- 8 *Rigveda* 10.67, semantic repetitions 104
- 9 *Rigveda* 10.67, distribution of divine names 115
- 10 *Rigveda* 10.67, stanzas 9 and 10 117
- 11 IE lexemes for 'to lead' in the collocations [to LEAD–WATERS/WOMEN] 150
- 12 Common traits between the Perseus myth and the Vala, Vṛtra, and Trita
myths 167

Schemes

- 1 Sample linguistic reconstruction XII
- 2 Sample linguistic reconstruction and the reconstruction of poetic
language XII
- 3 Ring-composition of *Pythian Twelve* 18
- 4 Rings of *Pythian Twelve* 19
- 5 Ring-composition of *Rigveda* 10.67 105
- 6 P. 12 and RV 10.67: rings built with [to FIND–ARTISTIC CREATION] and [HERO'S
NAME] 171

- 7 *P. 12 and RV 10.67: rings built with [to FIND–ARTISTIC CREATION], [HEAD], [HERO'S DEED/NAME]* 172
- 8 Lexical repetitions in *Pythian Twelve* 173

Charts

- 1 Collocation [GOD–INVENTS (: FINDS)–ARTISTIC CREATION_{acc.}–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}] 98
- 2 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: distribution of the roles 135
- 3 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: parallel lexical usages 137
- 4 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: lexeme-crossing in the *base collocations* 139

Abbreviations

Ancient Authors and Works

Greek

A.R.		Apollonius of Rhodes, <i>Argonautica</i> (Race 2009)
Ael. Dion.		Aelius Dionysus, <i>Attic Lexicon</i> (Erbse 1950)
Aeschl.	<i>Ag.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Agamemnon</i> (Sommerstein 2009a)
	<i>Choe.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Libation Bearers</i> (Sommerstein 2009a)
	<i>Pers.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Persians</i> (Sommerstein 2009b)
	<i>Sept.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Seven against Thebes</i> (Sommerstein 2009b)
	<i>Suppl.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Suppliants</i> (Sommerstein 2009b)
	<i>TrGF</i>	Aeschylus, fragments (<i>TrGF</i> III)
[Aeschl.]	<i>PV</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Prometheus Bound</i> (Sommerstein 2009b)
Alc.		Alcaeus, fragments (Voigt 1971)
Alcm.		Alcman, fragments (<i>PMG</i> or Calame 1983, abbr. C)
<i>Anacr.</i>		<i>Anacreontea</i> (West 1993 ²)
Ant.		Antimachus, fragments (Matthews 1996)
AP		The Greek Anthology (Paton–Tueller 2014, Gow–Page 1965)
[Apollod.]		Pseudo-Apollodorus, <i>The Library</i> (Frazer 1921)
Archil.		Archilochus, fragments (<i>IEG</i>)
Aristoph.	<i>Av.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Birds</i> (Henderson 2000)
	<i>Acharn.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Acharnians</i> (Henderson 1998a)
	<i>Nub.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Clouds</i> (Henderson 1998b)
	<i>Pax</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Peace</i> (Henderson 1998b)
	<i>Thesm.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Women at the Thesmophoria</i> (Henderson 2000)
	<i>Vesp.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Wasps</i> (Henderson 1998b)
Aristot.	<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> (Rackham 1932)
Aristox.		Aristoxenus, fragments (Huffman 2019)
Athen.		Athenaeus, <i>The Learned Banqueters</i> (Olson 2007–2012, DA)
Ba.		Bacchylides (Maehler 1997)
Call.	<i>Aet.</i>	Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i> (Pfeiffer 1949–1953)
	<i>H</i>	Callimachus, <i>Hymns</i> (Mair–Mair 1921, Pfeiffer 1949)
Calli.		Callinus, fragments (<i>IEG</i>)

<i>carm.</i>		<i>Carmina convivalia</i> (PMG)
<i>conv.</i>		
Cor.		Corinna, fragments (PMG)
Crit.		Critias, fragments (Diels–Kranz 1951–1952)
<i>Cypr.</i>		<i>Cypria</i> , fragments (Bernabé 1996–2007)
D.S.		Diodorus Siculus, <i>The Library of History</i> (Oldfather 1939, 1946)
Diag.		Diagoras, fragments (Winiarczyk 1981)
EM		<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i> (Gaisford 1848)
Epich.		Epicharmus, fragments (Kaibel 1899)
[Erat.]	<i>Cat.</i>	Pseudo-Eratosthenes, <i>Catasterismi</i> (Olivieri 1897)
<i>Et. Gud.</i>		<i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i> (de Stefani 1965)
Eur.	<i>Andr.</i>	Euripides, <i>Andromache</i> (Diggle 1984)
	<i>El.</i>	Euripides, <i>Electra</i> (Diggle 1981)
	<i>Hel.</i>	Euripides, <i>Helen</i> (Diggle 1994)
	<i>Herc.</i>	Euripides, <i>Children of Heracles</i> (Diggle 1984)
	HF	Euripides, <i>Heracles</i> (Diggle 1981)
	<i>Hipp.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hippolytus</i> (Diggle 1984)
	IA	Euripides, <i>Iphigenia in Aulis</i> (Diggle 1994)
	<i>Ion</i>	Euripides, <i>Ion</i> (Diggle 1981)
	<i>Med.</i>	Euripides, <i>Medea</i> (Diggle 1984)
	<i>Phaeth.</i>	Euripides, <i>Phaethon</i> (Diggle 1970)
	<i>TrGF</i>	Euripides, fragments (<i>TrGF</i> v)
Hdt.		Herodotus, <i>The Persian Wars</i> (Godley 1920–1925)
Hdn.	<i>De Pros.</i>	Herodianus and Pseudo-Herodianus, <i>On Prosody</i> (Lentz 1870)
	<i>Od.</i>	Herodianus and Pseudo-Herodianus, <i>On the Odyssey's Prosody</i> (Lentz 1870)
Hes.	<i>Op.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i> (Merkelbach–Solmsen–West 1990 ⁴)
	<i>Th.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i> (Merkelbach–Solmsen–West 1990 ⁴)
	fr.	Hesiod, fragments (Merkelbach–West 1999)
[Hes.]	Sc.	Pseudo-Hesiod, <i>Shield</i> (Merkelbach–Solmsen–West 1990 ⁴)
HH		Homeric Hymns (Allen–Monro 1922)
Hipp.		Hippocrates and <i>Corpus Hippocraticum</i> (Anastassiou–Irmer 1997–2012)
Hom.		Homer (van Thiel 1991, 1996)
	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i> (van Thiel 1996)
	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i> (van Thiel 1991) [^]

Hsch.		Hesychius, <i>Lexicon</i> (Latte–Cunningham 2018–2020, abbr. LC, Hansen–Cunningham 2009, abbr. HC)
Ib.		Ibycus, fragments (Davies [<i>PMGF</i>] 1991)
Ion		Ion, fragments (Leurini 2000)
Isocr.	<i>Hel.</i>	Isocrates, Helen (van Hook 1945)
Luc.	<i>Mar.</i>	Lucian, Dialogues of the Sea-Gods (MacLeod 1961)
	<i>Phal.</i>	Lucian, Phalaris (Harmon 1913)
Lyc.		Lycophron, Alexandra (Hornblower 2022)
Lyr. adesp.		Lyric Adespota, fragments (<i>PMG</i>)
Melan.		Melanippides, fragments (<i>PMG</i>)
Men.	<i>Leuk.</i>	Menander, <i>Leukadia</i> (Blanchard 2016)
Mimn.		Mimnermus, fragments (<i>IEG</i>)
Nonn.	<i>D.</i>	Nonnus of Panopolis <i>Dionysiaca</i> (Vian 1976–2003)
Π	2389	Oxyrinchus Papyrus 24, 2389 (Lobel 1957)
Paus.		Pausanias, Description of Greece (Rocha-Pereira 2013)
Phan.		Phanocles, fragments (Alexander 1988)
Pher.		Pherecydes, fragments (Dolcetti 2004)
Phil.		Philoxenus, fragments (Theodoridis 1976)
Pi.	<i>O.</i>	Pindar, Olympian Odes (Snell–Maehler 1987)
	<i>P.</i>	Pindar, Pythian Odes (Snell–Maehler 1987)
	<i>N.</i>	Pindar, Nemean Odes (Snell–Maehler 1987)
	<i>I.</i>	Pindar, Isthmian Odes (Snell–Maehler 1987)
	<i>fr.</i>	Pindar, fragments (Snell–Maehler 1987)
	<i>Dith.</i>	Pindar, Dithyrambs (Van der Weiden 1991, Lavecchia 2000)
	<i>Pae.</i>	Pindar, Paeans (Rutherford 2008)
Pl.	<i>Crat.</i>	Plato, Cratylus (Duke–Hicken–Nicol–Robinson–Strachan 1995)
	<i>Leg.</i>	Plato, Laws (Diès–des Places 1951–1956)
	<i>Rep.</i>	Plato, The Republic (Shorey 1982–1987)
Plut.	<i>De cohib. ir.</i>	Plutarch, On the Control of Anger (Helmbold 1939)
	<i>De def. or.</i>	Plutarch, On the Obsolescence of Oracles (Cole Babbitt 1936)
	<i>Pelop.</i>	Plutarch, Pelopidas (Perrin 1917)
	<i>Quaest.</i>	Plutarch, Table-Talk (Clement–Hoffeit 1969)
[Plut.]	<i>Mus.</i>	Pseudo-Plutarch, On Music (Einaron–de Lacy 1967)
Pol.		Polybius, The Histories (Paton–Walbank–Habicht 2010–2012)
Poll.		Pollux, <i>Onomastikon</i> (Bethe 1967)
Polyaen.	<i>Strat.</i>	Polyaenus, Stratagems of War (Krentz–Wheeler 1994)

Pos.	<i>E.</i>	Posidippus, Epigrams (Austin–Bastianini 2002)
Pra.		Pratinas, fragments (<i>PMG</i>)
Q.s.		Quintus Smyrnaeus, <i>Posthomerica</i> (Hopkinson 2018)
Sapph.		Sappho, fragments (Lobel–Page 1955, Voigt 1971, abbr. V)
Σ	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Scholia D in Iliad</i> (van Thiel 2014 [2000 ¹])
	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Scholia in Odyssey</i> (Dindorf 1855, Pontani 2007)
	<i>O.</i>	<i>Scholia in Pindar's Olympian Odes</i> (Mommsen 1867, Abel 1891, Drachmann 1903–1927)
	<i>P.</i>	<i>Scholia in Pindar's Pythian Odes</i> (Mommsen 1867, Abel 1891, Drachmann 1903–1927)
	<i>I.</i>	<i>Scholia in Pindar's Isthmian Odes</i> (Mommsen 1867, Abel 1891, Drachmann 1903–1927)
Simon.		Simonides, fragments (FrGH, <i>PMG</i> , Poltera 2008, abbr. Po)
Sol.		Solon, fragments (<i>IEG</i>)
Soph.	<i>Ant.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i> (Lloyd-Jones 1994)
	<i>El.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Electra</i> (Finglass 2007)
	<i>oc</i>	Sophocles, <i>Oedipus at Colonus</i> (Lloyd-Jones 1994)
	<i>TrGF</i>	Sophocles, fragments (<i>TrGF</i> iv)
Steph. Byz.	<i>Ethn.</i>	Stephanus of Byzantium, <i>Ethnica</i> (Meineke 1849)
Stes.		Stesichorus, fragments (Finglass 2014)
Strabo		Strabo, <i>Geography</i> (Jones 1917–1927)
<i>Suid.</i>		<i>Suidae Lexicon</i> (Adler 1928–1935)
Tel.		Telestes, fragments (<i>PMG</i>)
Theocr.		Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i> (Hopkinson 2015)
Theogn.		Theognis (<i>IEG</i>)
Theon	P. Oxy. 2536	Theon, <i>Hypomnema</i> (Turner 1968)
Theophr.	<i>Hist. Pl.</i>	Theophrastus, <i>De Causis Plantarum</i> (Einarson–Link 1976–1990)
[Thess.]		Thessalus, fragments <i>apud</i> Hipp.
Thuc.		Thucydides, <i>Histories</i> (Piccirilli 1985, Stuart–Jones 1902)
Tim.		Timaeus, fragments (DFHG)
Trag.		Tragic Adespota, fragments (<i>TrGF</i> I or II)
adesp.		
Tyrt.		Tyrtaeus (<i>IEG</i>)
Tzet.	Σ Lyc	Tzetzes, <i>Scholia in Lycophronem</i> (Tzetzes 1811)
<i>Vita Ambr.</i>		<i>Vita Ambrosiana</i> (Drachmann 1903–1927, vol. 1)

Inscriptions

CEG	<i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> (Hansen 1983–1989)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (various editors)
Marm. Par.	The Parian Marble (IG XII.5.44, DFHG)

Latin

Apul.	<i>Florid.</i>	Apuleius, <i>Florida</i> (Jones 2017)
Cic.	<i>Cael.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Caelio</i> (Gardner 1958)
	<i>Verr.</i>	Cicero, Verrine Orations (Greenwood 1928–1935)
Front.	<i>Strat.</i>	Frontinus, <i>Stratagems</i> (Bennett–McElwain 1925)
Hor.	<i>Ars</i>	Horace, <i>Ars poetica</i> (Garrod 1901)
Hyg.	<i>Astr.</i>	Hyginus, <i>Astronomica</i> (Viré 1992)
	<i>Fab.</i>	Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i> (Rose 1933)
Myth. Vat.		Vatican Mythographer (Kulcsar 1987)
Ov.	<i>F.</i>	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> (Frazer–Goold 1931)
	<i>Met.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> (Miller–Goold 1915–1916)
Pli.	<i>HN</i>	Plinius the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> (Rackham 1938–1952, Eichholz 1962)
Serv.	<i>Aen.</i>	Servius on Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> (Thilo 1878–1884)
Verg.	<i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> (Rushton Fairclough–Goold 1916–1918)

Old Indic

AVŚ	<i>Atharvaveda-Śaunakīya</i> (Orlandi 1991)
MBh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i> (Sukthankar et al. 1937–1964)
MS	<i>Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā</i> (von Schroeder 1881–1886)
Nigh.	<i>Nighaṇṭu</i> (Sarup 1920–1929)
RV	<i>Rigveda</i> (van Nooten–Holland 1994)
TS	<i>Taittirīya Samhitā</i> (Keith 1914)

Avestan

Vr.	<i>Visperat</i> (Darmesteter 1892–1893, Geldner 1896, Dhabhar 1949)
Y	<i>Yašna</i> (Humbach–Faiss 2010)
Yt	<i>Yašt</i> (Darmesteter 1892, Geldner 1896, Pirart 2010; [Yt 14] Pirart 2006)

Old English

Beow.		<i>Beowulf</i> (Klaebe–Fulk–Bjork–Niles 2008 ⁴)
Cyn.	<i>El.</i>	Cynewulf, <i>Elene</i> (Gradon 1977)

Old Norse

Bdr.		<i>Baldrs draumar</i> (Neckel–Kuhn 1962)
Eil	<i>pdr</i>	Eilífr Goðrúnarson, <i>Þórsdrápa</i> (Marold 2017a)
EVald	<i>þórr</i>	Eysteinn Valdason, Poem about Þórr (Clunies Ross 2017)
Gylf.		Snorri Sturluson, <i>Gylfaginning</i> (Faulkes 1982)
Ht.		Snorri Sturluson, <i>Háttatal</i> (Faulkes 1982, Gade 2017)
Hym.		Snorri Sturluson, <i>Hymiskviða</i> (Neckel–Kuhn 1962)
Ls.		<i>Lokasenna</i> (Neckel–Kuhn 1962)
Steinn	<i>Óldr</i>	Steinn Herdísarson, <i>Óláfsdrápa</i> (Gade 2009)
VSt	<i>Erf</i>	Völu-Steinn, <i>Qgmundardrápa</i> (Marold 2017b)

Old Irish

<i>Amr. Col. Ch.</i>	<i>Amra Coluim Chille</i> (Stokes 1899)
----------------------	---

Tocharian

IOL	Indian Office Library (mss. collection, ed. CETOM)
-----	--

Sumerian

<i>Huwawa A</i>	<i>Gilgameš and Huwawa</i> , version A (Otto 1990, Otto 1991, George 1999, cf. ETCSL)
<i>Huwawa B</i>	<i>Gilgameš and Huwawa</i> version B (Otto 1993, George 1999, cf. ETCSL)

Other Abbreviations, Definitions, and Conventions

Other Abbreviations

ICL	first compensatory	acc.	accusative
	lengthening	act.	active
abl.	ablative	adj.	adjective
abstr.	abstract	adv.	adverb or adverbial

Aeol.	Aeolic	Gk.	Greek
Alph. Gk.	Alphabetic Greek	Gmc.	Germanic
aor.	aorist	GN	god's name
Arm.	Armenian	Heracl.	Heracleian
athem.	athematic	hexam.	hexameter poetry
Att.	Attic	Hitt.	Hittite
Att.-Ion.	Attic-Ionic	id.	identical
Arc.	Arcadian	IE	Indo-European
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcadian-Cyprian	impv.	imperative
Arg.	Argolic	ind.	indicative
attr.	attributive	Indo.-Ir.	Indo-Iranian
Av.	Avestan	inf.	infinitive
Bactr.	Bactrian	inscr.	inscription
Balto-Sl.	Balto-Slavic	<i>inscr.</i>	<i>inscriptio</i>
B(H)S	Buddhist hybrid	instr.	instrumental
	Sanskrit	intr.	intransitive
Boeot.	Boeotic	Ion.	Ionic
c.	century	Lac.	Laconian
Car.	Carian	Lat.	Latin
Celt.	Celtic	Latv.	Latvian
conj.	conjunction	Lesb.	Lesbian
Corinth.	Corinthian	Lith.	Lithuanian
Cret.	Cretan	loc.	locative
Cypr.	Cypriote	Locr.	Locrian
Cyr.	Cyrenaean	masc.	masculine
dat.	dative	Meg.	Megarian
Delph.	Delphic	MN	man's name(s)
denom.	denominative	mss.	manuscripts
dial(l).	dialect(s)	Myc.	Mycenaeans
Dor.	Doric	MoE	Modern English
Egyp.	Egyptian	nom.	nominative
El.	Elean	nr.	number
encl.	enclitic	ntr.	neutral or neuter
Etr.	Etruscan	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
FCM(s)	first compound	OE	Old English
	member(s)	OHG	Old High German
fem.	feminine	OIr.	Old Irish
Fr.	French	ON	Old Norse
fr(r).	fragment(s)	ORuss.	Old Russian
gen.	genitive	ord.	ordinal

Oss.	Ossetic	Span.	Spanish
pass.	passive	st(t).	stanza(s)
Pamph.	Pamphylian	subst.	substantive
ptc.	participle	superl.	superlative
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic	Syrac.	Syracusan
p(p).	page(s)	TA	Tocharian A
pl.	plural	TB	Tocharian B
PN	place name	them.	thematic
pr.	present	Thess.	Thessalian
pred.	predicative	transl.	translation/translated by
prep.	preposition	Troez.	Troezenian
pron.	pronoun	Umbr.	Umbrian
Rhod.	Rhodian	v., vv.	verse, verses
scM(s)	second compound member(s)	Ved.	Vedic
SCr.	Serbo-Croatian	voc.	vocative
sg.	singular	YAv.	Young Avestan
sigm.	sigmatic	WGk.	West Greek
Skr.	Sanskrit	WN	woman's name

Phraseological and Linguistic Conventions, Definitions

+	“and elsewhere” : the sign <+> usually follows the abbreviation of an author's name, a work/text passage/textual corpus.
*x	reconstructed form/root : a nominal or verbal stem or root is reconstructed on the basis of the comparison between two or more linguistic cognates. This does not necessarily mean that reconstructed forms existed as such in Proto-Indo-European, but that they might have existed as such at a certain stage of Indo-European.
x > y	‘x becomes y’ (i.e. ‘y derives from x’)
y < x	‘y derives from x’ (i.e. ‘x becomes y’): the sign marks the passage from a linguistic shape that existed or might have existed to a following linguistic stage, which may or may not be historically attested.
x*	unattested form : a certain form is not attested in a certain case or ending, but might have existed as such within the synchrony of a language. The convention often applies to the first singular of rare verbs or to the nominative case of <i>hapax eiremena</i> .
x ^o	first compound member (FCM)
°x	second compound member (scM) : a compound form consists of two or more compound members that are ‘counted’ left to right. The first compound

member (FCM) is thus the part of compound from the left, the second compound member (SCM) is the next member, which most of the times contains the word ending.

x : y **minimal pair or set:** two (minimal pair) or more forms are part of one and the same pattern, e.g. a distribution pattern, the same inflectional paradigm (suppletivism) or the same derivational pattern.

[x] **concept:** the convention is used here to refer to a lexeme, to a hyperonym of a group of synonymic terms, or their semantic field.

[x–y] **collocation:** a collocation is the frequent co-occurrence of two (or more) individual lexical items, in a sort of semantic or phraseological connection.¹ The combination of the term is not fixed, but relatively free. Furthermore, the lexemes may combine in different structures: [SUBSTANTIVE–ADJECTIVE], [SUBSTANTIVE–SUBSTANTIVE], [SUBSTANTIVE–VERB] etc. For purely stylistic purposes the following terms are sporadically used in this study as synonyms of ‘collocation’: *iunctura* (pl. *iuncturae*), phraseme.

In collocations of the type [SUBSTANTIVE–ADJECTIVE], featuring Greek, Vedic or Avestan forms, I conventionally provide the nominative singular (Greek) or the stem-form (Vedic/Avestan) even if they occur in a different case in the texts. In collocations of the type [SUBSTANTIVE–SUBSTANTIVE] too, substantives are indicated in nominative singular or plural (*pluralia tantum*) (Greek), stem-form (Vedic/Avestan), different cases are subscribed to the second substantive, e.g. [ABODE–DEITY_{gen.}] means ‘abode of a deity’. In collocations of the type [SUBSTANTIVE–VERB], the substantives are indicated in nominative (Greek), stem-forms (Vedic/Avestan); different cases are subscribed to the substantives; verbs are indicated in the 1.sg.ind.pr. (Greek) or their root in *guṇa* (Vedic and Avestan) is provided, e.g. [TO FIND–WORDS] will appear as Gk. [εὐρίσχω–ἔπος_{acc.(pl.)}] and Ved. [*ved–vác-*_{acc.}]

Through phraseological comparison different types of matches can be identified, namely:

Perfect match (*aequatio*) = the constitutive members of a collocation go back to the same root and display identical formations, e.g. Gk. ἱερὸν μένος (*Il.*+) ‘holy energy’ : Ved. *iṣiréna mánasā* ‘with the holy (mental) energy’.

Partial match (*aequabile*) = the constitutive members of a collocation go back to the same root and display non-identical formations, these include:

¹ “Eine der Bedeutungen von Nacht ist die Kollokabilität mit dunkel und von Dunkel natürlich mit Nacht” (Crystal 1993, referring to Firth 1951). Cf. also the following definitions: “[...] characteristic word combinations which have developed an idiomatic relation based on their frequent co-occurrence” (Bußmann 2008, s.v. Kollokation, translated in English by the author), “the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items” (Crystal 2015⁶, s.v. collocation).

(i) cases of collocations in which both members go back to the same root, but are formally non-identical, e.g. Ved. *ákṣiti- śrávas-*, Gk. κλέος ἄφθιτον ‘unperishable fame’; (ii) cases of collocations in which one member of the collocation is a perfect or partial match and another/others is/are expressed by means of a different lexeme, as a consequence of lexical renewal, e.g. Gk. ἔτεο-κλής ‘having authentic fame’ cf. Ved. *Satyá-śrávas-* ‘having authentic fame’.

[X]–[Y] **association:** a phraseological connection between two concepts that are attested in a text, although it is not reflected by a collocation of the type [SUBSTANTIVE–ADJECTIVE/SUBSTANTIVE/VERB]. That is, two concepts/ideas or images are attested in the same context, at close distance, but they are not part of the same collocation. Take, for instance, the following passage: Pi. fr. 205 ἀρχὰ μεγάλας ἀρετᾶς, ὦνασσι Ἀλάθεια “Beginning of great excellence, queen Truth!” The verse does not reflect a collocation [ἀρετὰ–ἀλάθεια_(gen.?)] or [ἀλάθεια–ἀρετὰ_(gen.?)]. Yet the ideas of ἀρετὰ and ἀλάθεια are *associated* in the passage: the two concepts occur at a close distance from one another and are somehow linked together.

[X+Y] **joining of two concepts:** two concepts are connected together in a single unity, such as a compound word, or a merism, i.e. a structure whose components are joined together to signify a different notion (cf. Nordquist 2020).

Philological Abbreviations

Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts of Pindar Referred to in the Apparatus

For a complete list of the medieval manuscripts and possible *stemmata codicum* cf. Snell–Maehler 1987: vii–x, Gentili 2006: lxxxiii–xc. See also Turyn 1932, Irigoin 1952. On emendations of Pindar’s ode cf. Gerber 1976, 1985.

Π ⁴²	P. Oxy. 31, 2536, saec. ii
B	Vaticanus gr. 1312, saec. xii ex.
D	Laurentianus 32.52, saec. xiv in.
E	Laurentianus 32.37, ca. 1300
F	Laurentianus 32.33, saec. xiii ex.
G	Gottingensis phil. 29, saec. xiii med.
H	Vaticanus gr. 41, saec. xiv in.
I	Marcianus gr. 465, saec. xiv in.
V	Parisinus gr. 2403, saec. xiii ex.
Φ	Athous Iberorum 161, ca. 1300

Byzantine Editions

- Byz. consensus editionum Mosch., Tricl. et Ps.-Mosch.
 Mosch. editio Manuelis Moschopuli *Olympias* amplectens, ca. 1300 (Irigoin 1952:286)
 Ps.-Mosch. Ps.-Mosch. editor anonymus qui editionem Moschopuli in *Pythiis* et *Nemeis* I–III continuavit, ca. 1460–1470 (Irigoin 1952:394)
 Tricl. editiones Demetri Triclinii, quarum prior *Olympias*, *Pythias*, *Nemeas*, *Isthmias*, altera *Olympias* tantum amplectitur, ca. 1320–1340 (Irigoin 1952:362–364)

Modern Editions and Works Referenced in the Apparatus

- Ahr. Ahrens 1843
 Boe. Boeckh (1811–1821¹, 1825²)
 Hey. Heyne (1773¹, 1797–1799², 1817³, [1824])
 Mo. Tycho Mommsen (1864¹, 1866²)
 Schr. von Schroeder (1908¹, 1914², 1930³)
 Schm. Schmid 1616

Critical Apparatus (Readings)

- B^{γρ} add. γρ(ἀφεται)
 B^{ac} ante correctionem
 B^{pc} post correctionem
 B^l in lemmae scholiorum
 Σ *Scholia*

PART 1

***Pindar's Pythian Twelve: Text
and Linguistic Commentary***



Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*: Date, Performance, and Myth

1 The Ode

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* celebrates Midas of Acragas, who won the auletic agon¹ at Delphi in 490 BCE (cf. section 2 below). The content of the ode may be summarized as follows:

The city of Acragas is entreated to welcome the victory ode of Midas and the aulete himself, who has triumphed over his competitors in Delphi (1–6). The art championed by the victor was invented by Athena. The goddess re-enacted the Gorgons' lament over their sister Medusa, whom Perseus had killed. It was thanks to this victory that Perseus managed to free his mother Danae. He showed Medusa's head to Polydectes and the inhabitants of Seriphus and turned them all into stone. Athena named the melody 'tune of many heads' and gifted it to the mortals, so that it may be a 'memento of contests which stir people' (7–24). The ode ends with a series of *gnōmai* about the relationship between success, effort, and fate: happiness does not come without toil; if, for a man, something is meant to be, a god or Time will bring him his allotted destiny (25–32).

The poem is the only 'Acragantine ode'² not written for a member of the Emmenid family and the only epinicion in our possession celebrating the winner of a musical competition. Musical contests were a primary component of the Pythian games as they were connected with the foundation myth of

1 On the *aulos*' iconography of Greek vase-paintings cf. Paquette 1984:24–67. On the musical instrument cf. also Mathiesen 1999, Wilson 1999, and Hagel 2009, 2020.

2 Thucydides (6.4.4) reports that Acragas was founded in 580 BCE by Gelian colonists, while Polybius (9.27) argues that some of its founders were Rhodians. Soon after its foundation, the tyrant Phalaris rose to power (Pi. *P.* 1.96, Tim. 28, Call. fr. 45–47, Pol. 12.25, Cic. *Verr.* II 4.33–73, D.S. 9.18–19, Luc. *Phal.* I 2–4; cf. Bianchetti 1987, Murray 1992, Luraghi 1994:21–49). After his reign, the city was governed by an oligarchy until 488 BCE, when Theron (of the Emmenid family) became tyrant (Polyaen. *Strat.* 6.51+, D.S. II.53.1). Five Pindaric odes celebrate the Acragantine winners: *P.* 12 (Midas, 490 BCE), *P.* 6 (Xenokrates, 490 BCE), *O.* 2 (Theron, 476 BCE), *O.* 3 (Theron, 476 BCE), *I.* 2 (Xenokrates, 470 BCE). Only Midas is not known to be an Emmenid.

this Panhellenic event.³ The myth would have Apollo killing Python, the serpent that guarded the chthonian oracle of Pytho, and then establishing an agon to honour his enemy's death. On that first occasion, the god performed a six-part citharoedic *nomos* that reproduced the different moments of his fight against the monster.⁴ Hence, in their most ancient phase, the agones consisted in a citharoedic contest,⁵ which took place every eight years,⁶ this being the same amount of time that it took Apollo to atone for Python's death.⁷ With the reorganization of the Pythian games on a four-year basis (see below), further auletic (performance with the *aulos*) and aulodic (sung performance accompanied with the *aulos*) contests⁸ were introduced together with sports competitions, on the model of the Olympic games. Other illustrious auletes who triumphed at Delphi are recorded in literary sources in our possession, namely: Sacadas of Argos, who is credited with invention of the *nomos Pythikos*,⁹ and Pythocritus of Sicyon who won six times at the Pythian games. However, Midas stands out as the only winner celebrated by Pindar, the supreme lyric poet.

3 Cf. Della Bona 2017:13–75.

4 Σ *P. hypoth.* a Dr.

5 Paus. 10.7.2 ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἀγώνισμα γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πρῶτον ἄθλα ἔθεσαν, ἄσαι ὕμνον ἐς τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἄδων Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης, οὗ δὴ ὁ πατήρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθεῖραι Ἀπόλλωνα. Cf. also Strabo 9.3.10, Σ *P. hypoth.* b Dr.

6 Σ *P. hypoth.* c Dr. ἐτελείτο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν καταρχὰς μὲν διὰ ἐνναετηρίδος.

7 According to Paus. 2.7.7 Apollo went to Crete for cleansing from the dragon's blood, whereas Plutarch (*De def. or.* 421c) states that Apollo was exiled in Tempe. Parker 1996:378 proposes that “the Tempe tradition derives from an aetiological connection of uncertain date with the *Seperion*”.

8 Aulodic contests were suppressed in 582 BCE, cf. Paus. 10.7.6.

9 Additionally, Sacadas is identified by [Plut.] *Mus.* 1134a as the inventor of the three-part *nomos*, in which the chorus sung in three different modes (Dorian, Phrygian, and Lycian). According to Paus. 10.7.4–5 he won at Delphi in 586 BCE (on this date see below). Pollux (4.4, vol. 1.224) records him as the inventor of the νόμος Πυθικός. On Sacadas of Argos cf. Gentili–Prato 1985:43–45 and Bowie 2014, the latter proposing that Sacadas composed an elegiac poem about the *Sack of Troy*, which may be referred to, among others, by Eur. *Andr.* and Call. *H* 5.

2 Date

According to ancient commentaries, Midas of Acragas¹⁰ won in the Pythian games of 490 BCE and 486 BCE,¹¹ as well as in the Panathenaean games, cf. Σ P. 12 *inscr.* Dr. γέγραπται ἡ ᾠδὴ Μίδα Ἀκραγαντίνῳ. οὗτος ἐνίκησε τὴν κδ' Πυθιάδα καὶ κε'· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Παναθηναία νενικηκέναι. Since Pindar does not mention any other success obtained by the laudandus, we infer that *Pythian Twelve* celebrates Midas' earliest victory.

The proposed correspondence (490 BCE = 24th Pythiad) implies that the scholion's count of the numbered quadriennial Pythiads starts from 582 BCE. Ancient sources, however, preserve contradictory data about the date of the first Pythiad. Pausanias (10.7.4–5) identifies it as 586 BCE (i.e. the third year of the 48th Olympiad), specifying that the agones were 'chrematitic', i.e. competitions in which winners were awarded ἀθλα ('prizes of value'), whereas 'stephanitic' agones, i.e. competitions in which winners were awarded a crown, began in 582 BCE.¹²

Conversely, the *Marmor Parium* and the three *hypotheses* a, b and d of the Pindaric scholia connect the institution of the Pythiads with the end of the First Sacred War. The use of this event as a chronological reference is itself not ideal, since doubts have been cast on the veracity of the late sources¹³ preserving memory of the conflict.¹⁴ What is relevant for the Pythiads' dating system is

10 Cf. Wilamowitz 1922:143, according to whom the absence of references to the winner's genealogical data suggests that Midas did not belong to an illustrious *genos*. Moreover, Clay 1992:519 and Martin 2003:169, fn. 69 argue that Midas is a stage name. Μίδα is recalled by several ancient sources as a Phrygian name (cf. Hdt. 1.14.12+) and the *aulos* is a musical instrument of Phrygian origin (Alcm. 126+). In the 5th c. BCE the name is only attested three times, namely: in Pantikapaion, in Athens (490–480 BCE), and in Acragas (: Pindar's dedicatee), cf. LGPN II 313 (ARV² 1535, nr. 25), IIIa.300, IV 236. Morrison 2007:42, fn. 5 states that it is impossible to reconstruct a sure tie between Midas and the Emmenid family. Conversely, Pavlou 2012:83–87, supports Gentili's (in Gentili–Luisi 1995:7) suggestion that the ode was commissioned by the Emmenids.

11 Cummins 2010:325, fn. 14 states that "it is prudent to acknowledge the dispute and a four-year margin of error in the scholiasts' Pythian dates".

12 Paus. 10.7.4–5 τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδόης ... ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἀθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν ... δευτέρῳ δὲ πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀθλοῖς ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο. Boeckh (1821) argues that the date of the first Pythiad was 586 BCE. This claim received further support by Miller 1978 and Brodersen 1990.

13 [Thess.] *apud* Hipp. 9.404–426, Front. *Strat.* 3.7.6, Polyæn. *Strat.* 3.5, 6.13, Σ P. *hypoth.* Dr.+.

14 The First Sacred War is a conflict between the Amphictyonic League and the polis of Crisa/Cirrha. Robertson 1978 (cf. also Davies 1994) claims that the war is a propagandistic invention of Philip of Macedon. Cassola 1980 contests this hypothesis by bringing

that the *Marmor Parium* and the scholia agree on (a) placing the conclusion of the First Sacred War in 591/590 BCE and (b) referring to this event for dating the first stephanitic agon. According to the *Marmor Parium*, the chrematitic agon was established after the Amphictyons defeated Crisa, when Simon was archon in Athens (591/590 BCE); the stephanitic agon was established under the Athenian archon Damasias (582 BCE).¹⁵ The scholia also agree on 591/590 BCE as the date of the chrematitic agones,¹⁶ but appear to disagree on the date of the first stephanitic games. This event, they state, happened six years after the end of the First Sacred War, in 586 BCE.¹⁷ However, Σ *P. hypoth.* b Dr. seems to miscalculate the years between the first chrematitic and the first stephanitic agon, claiming that it happened six years after the end of the First Sacred War, but also in 582 BCE (Damasias being archon in Athens).¹⁸

The complicated puzzle has received plausible solutions. Della Bona (2017:28) argues that the date from which the scholia counted the six years which preceded the stephanitic agon (582 BCE) is 588 BCE. Σ *P. hypoth.* b Dr. states that six years passed from when Hippias defeated the Criseans on Mount Cirphis, an event that might have happened one or two years after Crisa's fall.¹⁹ As Mosshammer (1982) points out, Pausanias, the scholia and the *Marmor Parium* rely on two different sources.²⁰ However, the agreement of diverse sources on the first stephanitic agon happening in 582 BCE speaks in favour of the authenticity of this date. Knowing that the first chrematitic competition had taken place before the stephanitic one, Pausanias may have backdated it

out historical sources about the existence of the polis of Crisa. The historicity of the event is further defended by Antonelli 1994 and Della Bona 2015.

- 15 *Marm. Par.* (IG XII.5/1 444, with IG XII.suppl. p. 110 = FrGH 2B) 239 A37f–38a ἀφ' οὗ Ἀ]μ[φικτ]ύ[ονες] ἔθ[υ]σαν κ]αταπο[λημήσα]ντες Κύρραν, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ γυμνικός ἐτέθη χρηματῖτης ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων, ἔτη ΗΗ[Η]ΔΔΠΠ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Σίμω[ν]ος. ἀφ' οὗ [ἐν Δελφοί]ς [ὁ στε]φανίτης ἀγὼν πάλιν ἐτέθη, ἔτη ΗΗΗΔΠΠΠ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου τοῦ δευτέρου.
- 16 Σ *P. hypoth.* b Dr. περιεγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν (sc. Εὐρύλοχος) ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν Σιμωνίδου. Cf. also Σ *P. hypoth.* d and a, only providing a relative chronological reference (: the chrematitic agon preceded the stephanitic one).
- 17 Σ *P. hypoth.* d Dr. τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς σὺν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι τοὺς Κιρραίους καταπολεμήσας [...] ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς μὲν Γυλίδᾳ, Ἀθήνησι δὲ Σίμωνος [...] καὶ ἔτει ἕκτω μετὰ τὴν τῆς Κίρρας ἄλωσιν ἀνεκήρυξαν τῷ θεῷ τὸν στεφανίτην.
- 18 For Miller (1978:148) the discrepancy reflects “a compression of the source”.
- 19 Σ *P. hypoth.* b Dr. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐξαετῇ καταγωνισαμένων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰππία τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένων τῶν Κιρραίων, ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Δαμασίου, [...] ὕστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες.
- 20 Cf. Mosshammer 1982:26 and Christensen 2007:189, who proposes that this source is the *Pythionikōn Anagrapḗ* (or *Pythionikai*) by Aristotle and Callisthenes (cf. also Wilamowitz 1893 1:13–24 on the *Pythionikai* as the source of the Pindaric scholia).

counting four years from 582 BCE, i.e. calculating the same number of years that regularly passed between one later Pythian game and the next. As Finglass (2007:23–27) shows, cross-referencing examples of winners, who triumphed in Pythian and other Panhellenic games at a short chronological distance, supports the notion that the first stephanitic agon (582 BCE) was the reference date for numbering the Pythiads in antiquity.

So, starting the count from the first stephanitic agon of 582 BCE, Midas' victory happened in 490 BCE.

3 Midas' Victory and Performance

Ancient commentaries record that Midas experienced an unpleasant accident: his instrument's reed broke and adhered to his palate, but the aulete carried on, beautifully executing his performance and thus earning a well deserved victory.²¹ The veracity of this anecdote is doubtful: the scholion may preserve the memory of an extraordinary event; or it could reflect a later tradition, perhaps inspired by the epinicion's concluding *gnōmē*, which stresses how success is achieved through effort.

It is unclear whether the ode was composed for a performance at Delphi (Gentili 2006: xxxvi) or at Acragas (Riaño Rulfilanchas 2001:68–69).²² It is difficult to tell whether Pindar would have had enough time to compose *Pythian Twelve* and at least one other poem, namely: *Pythian Six* for Xenocrates of Acragas, performed in 490 BCE at Delphi. Musical agones were the first competitions of the Pythian games,²³ which lasted six/seven days overall.²⁴ Depending on the day the winner was to be celebrated, Pindar would have had six days at most for composing his epinicia for their associated performances.

Over the years, different criteria have been used to identify the place in which single choral odes were first performed. In a renowned article of 1985, Gelzer proposes that five Pindaric odes (*O.* 4, *O.* 11, *P.* 6, *P.* 7, *N.* 2) exhibit a number of common traits that could allow us to recognize extemporary choral lyric creations. As well as some scepticism about the efficiency of these cri-

21 Σ P. 12 *inscr.* Dr. ἀγωνιζομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀνακλασθείσης τῆς γλωσσίδος ἀκουσίως καὶ προσκολληθείσης τῷ οὐρανίσκῳ, μόνοις τοῖς καλάμοις τρόπῳ σύριγγος αὐλήσαι, τοὺς δὲ θεατὰς ξενισθέντας τῷ ἥχῳ τερφθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω νικῆσαι αὐτόν. Cf. also Σ P. 12.52, 54b Dr.

22 Cf. also Spelman 2018:30–31. For Maslov 2015:112 P. 12 is a 'civic epinicion'.

23 Plut. *Quaest.* 638b.

24 Cf. Gentili 2006: xxvii, who refers to Soph. *El.* 684–700.

teria,²⁵ an attempt at applying them to Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* does not yield any revealing result. The poem only partly exhibits the peculiar traits Gelzer identifies, namely: shortness, monostrophic structure, and compact informative character about the victory's main facts. However, it does not comply with other alleged 'extempore-features': the image of the ode as a messenger/herald is absent. Furthermore, the ode comprises quite elaborate mythological and gnomic sections.

While the reference to a series of deduced principles fails to plausibly answer the question of the performance's location, internal textual details might provide a more solid basis to infer this information. There are a few ambiguous, but not decisive elements to examine. The adverb *σάμερον* (29) does not necessarily hint at the time of victory at Delphi, but rather may indicate the time of the celebration, while the general tone of the final *gnōmai* does not automatically imply a reference to Midas' accident.

It is actually in the light of the first six verses of the poem that I argue that *Pythian Twelve* is a short ode for the celebration of Midas at Acragas. *Pythian Twelve*'s beginning contains analogous expressions to those of at least three Pindaric odes performed in the winners' homelands, namely: *O.* 5.1–3, *P.* 9.56–57, *N.* 4.11–12,²⁶ cf.

Pi. *O.* 5.1–3

ὕψηλάν ἀρετᾶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν
τῶν Οὐλυμπία, Ὡκεανοῦ θύγατερ, καρδίᾳ γελανεῖ
ἀκαμαντόποδός τ' ἀπήνας δέκευ Ψαυμῖός τε δῶρα

25 Lomiento 2013c:276, fn. 2 criticizes Gelzer's criteria and agrees with Bundy 1986⁴ on *Olympian Eleven* not containing any clues to a performance at Olympia.

26 I leave out *O.* 4.6–8 because the location of the ode's performance is debated. Fernández-Galiano 1942 and Barrett 2007 surmise that the ode was performed in Olympia for Psaumis' victory with the *apēnē* in 456 BCE (*contra* Snell–Maehler who favour 460 BCE as a date), the same celebrated in *O.* 5 (on which cf. Lomiento 2013b). Lomiento 2013a, following Gerber 1987, argues that the ode was performed in Camarina for Psaumis' victory in 452 BCE. In favour of a performance in Camarina speak verses 6–9, where Zeus Aetnaeus is invoked to 'receive the winner', cf. [δέχομαι–WINNER_{acc.}]. The case of Pi. *O.* 8 also stands out. Verses 9–10, in which Pisa's sacred woods invoked to welcome (δέχομαι) the Panhellenic winner, are interpreted by Boeckh 1811–1821 as a reference to a performance in Olympia. But Hartung (1855–1856), following Σ *O.* 8.66 Dr., proposes that the ode was executed in Aegina. Further internal textual references led other scholars to propose that the ode was written for a performance at the site of victory and later adapted to the requirements of a performance in Aegina (cf. Giannini 2013:197–198). On the performance and reperformance of Pindar's odes cf. Carey 1989, 2007, Currie 2004, 2017, Budelmann 2017.

Daughter of Ocean, with a smiling heart receive the finest sweet reward for lofty deeds and crowns, those at Olympia, gifts of the mule car of tireless feet and Psauimis

Pi. P. 9.56–57

νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνιά σοι Λιβύα
δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις πρόφρων

But as for now, *Libya, mistress whose meadows are broad, will welcome your glory-making bride* in her golden palace *with benevolence*

Pi. N. 4.11–12

[...] δέξαιτο δ' Αἰακιδᾶν
ἡῦπυργον ἔδος

And may it **find welcome** in the Aeacidae's well-towered domain.

One may add *Nemean Eleven* to these examples, it being a poem written for the installation of Aristagoras as *prytanis* of Tenedos²⁷ and placed among the *Nemeans* by early editors because of the emphasis given on Aristagoras' athletic achievements:

Pi. N. 11.1–3

παῖ Πέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, Ἔστία,
Ζηγὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου Ἥρας,
εὖ μὲν Ἀρισταγόραν δέξαι τεδὸν ἐς θάλαμον

Daughter of Rhea, to whom city halls are allotted, Hestia, sister of highest Zeus and of Hera who shares his throne, welcome well Aristagoras into your chamber.

The four above-mentioned comparanda have features in common with the beginning of *Pythian Twelve* (see chapter 4, section 3, chapter 5, section 1, 1–6):

- (i) A local protector deity (Ὠκεανοῦ θύγατερ, *O.* 5.2, παῖ Πέας [...] Ἔστία, *N.* 11.1) or the laudandus' homeland (εὐρυλείμων πότνια ... Λιβύα, *P.* 9.56, Αἰακιδᾶν || ἡῦπυργον ἔδος, *N.* 4.11–12) is mentioned or entreated as the entity

27 Henry 2005:119–133, Cannatà Fera 2020:xxxii, 243, 570.

- (ii) who will/should *graciously* (καρδίᾳ γελανεῖ, *O.* 5.2, πρόφρων, *P.* 9.57, εὖ, *N.* 11.3) ‘welcome/receive’ the honouree.
- (iii) The exhortation contains a form of δέχομαι (3.sg.ind.fut., δέξεται, opt. δέξαιτο, 2.sg.impv. δέκευ, δέξαι) and,
- (iv) as a direct object, the winner’s victory (*O.* 5, *P.* 9: Telesicrates and his glory) or his name (*N.* 11).

Pythian Twelve’s opening is analogously structured: Acragás is addressed through a series of vocatives (1–3), to benevolently (4) welcome (δέξαι, 5) Midas and his crown (i.e. the hymn) ‘from Pytho’ (5). Such a set of resemblances suggests that the ode was performed at Acragás.

4 The Myth

Pindar’s decision to introduce the story concerning the origin of the ‘tune of many heads’ raises the question of the possible link between Midas’ victory and the mythological narrative. The ‘tune of many heads’ is generally identified with the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. Ancient sources preserve little information about this composition. The *nomos* was imitative,²⁸ but several crucial aspects of the tune, such as, among others, its musical character, are opaque. Above all, it is unclear whether a *nomos*, whose mythical origin Pindar connects with the figure of Athena, would have been a suitable piece to perform in the auletic Pythian competition and, consequently, whether it was the *nomos* executed by Midas at Delphi. Despite the general inclination to assume this to be the case,²⁹ Pöhlmann (2010–2011:45, but cf. already Wilamowitz 1922:144) proposes that the νόμος πολυκέφαλος was a suitable piece as a prelude to the agon, and that Midas is most likely to have won at Delphi for his performance of the *nomos Pythikos* in honour of Apollo, the divine dedicatee of the Pythian games. This claim is not supported by any textual element. Conversely, it is reasonable to imagine that Pindar introduces the aetiological myth of the ‘tune of many heads’ into the ode *because* Midas won by performing it. At 6–8 the poet specifies that Midas triumphed in the art (τέχνη) ‘once invented by Pallas Athena’. The term τέχνη is here understood as ‘art’, i.e. ‘the auletic art’. However, Pindar stresses that this is the art or work of art invented by Athena concurrently with her braiding of a *thrēnos*. If we assume that here τέχνη stands for ‘auletic art’ in general, we should suppose that Pindar is referring to a mythological tradition

28 Cf. 21 μμήσαιτ’ ἐρικλάγκταν γόνον, on which see chapter 5, section 2, 21.

29 As recent references cf. Martin 2003, Steiner 2013, and Phillips 2013, 2016.

according to which Athena discovered the *aulos* and how to play it along with the 'tune of many heads'. While several literary sources tell us a version of the story according to which Athena is the *primus inventor* of the *aulos*, none of them, except Nonnus of Panopolis, mentions the νόμος πολυκέφαλος as a concomitant discovery by the goddess. But Nonnus' text, in a dangerously circular way, is based on Pindar's ode (cf. chapter 6). Therefore, it is likely that the *Dionysiaca* provide an interpretation of *Pythian Twelve*, while there is no guarantee that the work preserves a mythological tradition of both the *aulos* and the νόμος πολυκέφαλος being invented by Athena on the same occasion. Contrarily, internal textual elements of *Pythian Twelve* seem to suggest that Athena's invention is, actually, the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. In particular, from verses 22–24, paralleling 6–8, we learn that this is the tune that the goddess discovered by reproducing the Gorgons' lament. The verses thus indirectly support τέχνα (6) standing for 'tune (of many heads)' and that Pindar chose an aetiological myth in connection with the piece performed by the winner at Delphi.

Although we have no record concerning the musical accompaniment of *Pythian Twelve*, "*aulos* accompaniment would obviously be appropriate for a celebration of an aulete; indeed, it is hard to imagine the *aulos* not being used for this poem, whether accompanied by other instruments or not" (Phillips 2013:38).³⁰ If so, the poem would celebrate a victory obtained in the art of the *aulos* with the sound of the *aulos*, by recalling the origin of a distinctive musical piece dedicated to the *aulos*. The poem would thus acquire a remarkable meta-musical character:³¹ the mythical past (Athena's discovery), the historical past (Midas' victory at Delphi) and the musical performance connect, touch, and possibly overlap within the lyric performance thanks to the power of the *aulos* and its musical relevance.³²

30 Cf. also Henry 2007:131, fn. 11.

31 To this Phillips (2013) adds that *P. 12* is written in the tune invented by Athena.

32 Morrison 2007:82–84 sustains that the ode may have not been reperformed outside Midas' immediate circle and that Midas might himself played the solo *aulos* accompaniment.

Pythian Twelve's Ring-Composition

1 Ring-Composition and Ring-Compositions

In this section, I draw attention to a structural device in Pindar's ode, namely: ring-composition.¹ Ring-composition (or circular structure) is a scheme² underlying passages of several ancient and modern literary texts.³ A ring (or circle) is a "framing device" (Douglas 2007:1): a central section is enclosed by an element and its repetition at a later part of the text, the element and repetition forming a ring. It is clear that the concept lying at the basis of ring-composition responds to universal needs belonging to all the possible audiences or recipients of a text/verbal message. Beginning and concluding a speech or a narrative with analogous concepts contributes to providing definiteness and unity to its narration. Furthermore, it adds to the cohesion of a discourse. Despite the fact that ring-compositions may be recognized as such on the basis of one standard feature, i.e. the *ring*, and may thus appear to the modern reader as relatively simple, circular structures entail considerable freedom and, potentially, great complexity.

The basic means allowing an audience to recognize the ring's 'extremities' is the employment of reiterations and cross-references. However, repetitions may be organized in various ways. The standard pattern consists of replicating an element or a set of elements, like entire verses or lines, at the beginning and at the end of a section. As a result, a basic circular structure is shaped as A–B–A₁. However, the poet/narrator may also operate with 'cross-references', a term I employ here as a hypernym for 'non-identical repetitions', namely:

1 Milestone Pindaric commentaries, such as those by Mezger (1880), Young (1964, 1970), and Privitera (2001⁴), emphasize the importance of circular structures for the interpretation of the Pindaric odes.

2 On the notion of *Ringkomposition* cf. Fränkel 1924 and van Otterlo 1944.

3 For typological comparisons between Greek ring-compositions and those of other traditions cf. Parks 1988 (Homer and *Beowulf*) and Reece 1995 (*Odyssey* 17–22 and the Serbo-Croatian tradition). For studies on ring-composition within other traditions than Greek cf. e.g. Lord 1991 on the Anglo-Saxon tradition; Foley 1983 and Lord 1986 on South Slavic epics; Niles 1979 on Old French epics; Fox 1977 on Austronesian, Rotinese and Indonesian traditions; Douglas 2007 on Old Testament; Okpewho 1979:196–197 and Mulokozi 2002:120 on African epics; Prior 2002:97–114 on Kyrgyz epics.

- allusions: an element, such as a word or a collocation, located at the beginning of the (poetic) discourse, is reprised by a similar element, i.e. a synonymous word or collocation occurring at the end of the ring;
- complementary traits: a word or a collocation occurring in the beginning of a ring is reprised by a complementary element, i.e. an antonym, or a complementary word/collocation, which occurs in the end of the ring.

A poet can also combine different circles within one poem and/or section. One possibility consists of forming *chains* of repetitions/cross-references, i.e. structures that may be exemplified as

$$A-B-C-B_1-C_1-X-C_2-B_2-C_3-B_3-A_1$$

Alternatively, rings can be layered. In these cases, a central element is nested between more concentric circles. This pattern, which is also defined as 'chiastic', may be described as

$$A-B-(C)-X-(C_1)-B_1-A_1$$

It has long been pointed out that Pindar makes abundant use of ring-composition and patterned repetitions at different levels.⁴ The recognition and the description of such devices cast light on factors that conditioned the author's word-choice. Depending on the standpoint from which they are considered, repetitions are both a mnemonic device and an interpretative clue. According to Mezger (1880:33–41) and Gildersleeve (1885: L–LI), recurring words "were all intended as cues to aid the memory of the chorus and to guide the thoughts of the hearers. It is a mnemonic device, but more than a mnemonic device, for it lets us into the poet's construction of his own poem, and settles forever the disputed meanings of the odes". Indeed, in some fortunate cases, reference to patterns of internal repetitions provides us with 'missing links' for understanding how the beginning of a composition joins with its end.⁵

4 Cf. Lauer 1959:71–77 on chiasmic structures in *P.* 10, *N.* 1, *P.* 8; Sulzer 1961 on different types of chiasms in Pindar's odes; Greengard 1980:23–25 on Pindar's ring-composition and chiasmic structures in *Pythian Twelve*. Watkins 2002b further discusses cases in which syntactic constituents of the Pindaric verses are deployed in chiasmic patterns.

5 See e.g. Young 1968:62 on the lexical repetition of the term τέκτων 'craftsman' in *P.* 3. On the same passages and on the expression τέκτων νωδυνίας 'craftsman of the painless-ness' cf. Massetti [in press].

2 Inherited Rings: Pindar and the *Rigveda*

A ‘comparative look’ at Pindaric ring-compositions may enrich our understanding of any inherited compositional tools that lived on in the corpus of the choral lyric poet. Comparative analysis shows that Pindaric ring-compositions resemble those attested in other Indo-European traditions.⁶ In particular, the comparison between ring-compositions attested in Pindar’s odes and in the *Rigveda* shows that not only are circular structures recognizable as an Indo-European phenomenon, but they are also built into two cognate traditions that use *the same words in relation to the same themes*.

In previous studies,⁷ I pointed out a series of striking similarities between the repetitions attested in the incipit and ‘excipit’ of *Nemean Three* (1–13, 76–84) and RV 10.144, a hymn to Indra, which centres on the Soma ritual. The two poetic compositions make use of

- (a) the theme of inebriating drink: in *Nemean Three* poetry is compared to a πόμ’ αἰδιδιμον ‘a drink to sing on’, whereas the Vedic hymn builds a ring-composition with the repetitions of the term *īnduh*, the “immortal (*āmartya*, 1a) drop [sc. of Soma]” (stt. 1, 6);
- (b) the phraseology ‘poetic craftsman’, cf. *N.* 3.4–5 μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων “builders of honey-sounding revels”, RV 10.144.2ab, (cf. d) *kāvya ṛbhūh* “a craftsman in poetic art”;⁸
- (c) the image of the ‘drink’s foam’, cf. *N.* 3.78 κίρναμένα δ’ ἔερσ’ ἀμφέπει “[this mixture of honey], which stirred foam crowns”, cf. RV 10.144.2c *ūrdhvākṛśanam mādām* “exhilarating drink with pearls on the top [i.e. foam]”;
- (d) the image of the bird of prey that ‘comes from afar, carrying its prey in its claws’, cf. *N.* 3.80–81 αἰετός || ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος δαφονὸν ἄγραν ποσὶν “the eagle, which suddenly seizes, as it searches from afar, the bloodied prey in its talons”, RV 10.144.5a *yām te śyenās cārum avṛkām padā ābharat* “whom the falcon brought here for you with his talon”. While in the *Rigveda* Soma is identified with the falcon’s prey, Pindar’s text does not allow an immediate identification ‘poetry’/‘poetic drink’: ‘falcon’s prey’. However, the analysis of internal repetitions between the beginning and the ending of *Nemean Three* suggests that the *search* for the ‘drink to sing

6 On ring-composition as an IE inherited compositional tool cf. Forte–Smith 2014, Forte 2016. On ways of ring-composition (wheel/omphalos-structures and riddles) in Vedic poetry cf. Jamison 2004, 2006.

7 Massetti 2019:163–168, (forthc./b).

8 Here and everywhere in the book, the provided Rigvedic translations are quoted *verbatim* or adapted from Jamison–Brereton 2014.

on' correlates with the eagle's search for prey. The expression σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι "(men) who seek your (i.e. of the Muse) voice" (5) correlates with τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος "(the eagle) searches it from afar" (81).

The identification of this parallel invites us to look for other parallels for Pindaric ring-compositions in the *Rigveda*. As the present study will make clear, *Pythian Twelve* and the proposed Vedic comparandum, RV 10.67, offer a further example of ring-compositions that resemble each other and contain repetitions of analogous concepts/terms.

3 Ring-Composition in *Pythian Twelve*

An in-depth comparative structural analysis is provided in chapter 8, section 2, chapter 9, sections 5–6, but for the moment I shall still focus on *Pythian Twelve*. It is good to start by presenting the 'distribution' of the rhetorical and narrative material within the Pythian, as has been sketched by Mezger (1880:201–202):⁹

$$6(\alpha.) + 2(\kappa.) + 16(\delta.) + 3(\mu.) + 5(\sigma.)$$

FIGURE 1

Structure of *Pythian Twelve*, according to Mezger 1880:201. Unabbreviated: 6 (ἀρχά) + 2 (κατατροπά) + 16 (ὄμφαλος) + 3 (μετακατατροπά) + 5 (σφραγίς)

The beginning (ἀρχά) mentions the winner's name, the winner's homeland, and the place of victory; the κατατροπά marks the passage to the mythological excursus featured in the ὄμφαλος. This itself is organized in a circular order, since it begins and ends with a reference to the Gorgons' lament and Athena's invention: (i) the goddess hears the Gorgons' lament when Perseus kills Medusa; (ii) by taking her head to Seriphus, the hero manages to petrify Polydectes as well as his people and, consequently, to free his mother Danae; (iii) Athena re-enacts the Gorgons' vocalisations and calls it 'tune of many heads'.¹⁰ The μετακατατροπά connects Athena's invention with the Boeotian

9 For an analysis of the 'ways of speaking' in the ode cf. Wells 2010:314. Accordingly, 1–27 comprise the *eukhesthai* (broadest way of speech) section, while 28–32 the *gnôma*. Within the *eukhesthai* section, Wells isolates 6–27 which comprise the mythological part (i.e. "a mythological framework of events which do not share the same framework of interaction between speech subject and addressee", p. 113) and 17–18 as 'lyric' (speech characterized as self-reflecting).

10 Cf. chapter 5, section 2.

landscape, where the best *aulos* reeds grow. Finally, the σφραγίς consists of three interwoven *gnōmai* about happiness, hard work, and fate: “men’s happiness can be achieved through toil”, “destiny cannot be avoided”, “a god or Time allots to men their share of fate unexpectedly”.

The ode displays a variety of lexical, semantic, and phraseological repetitions.¹¹ *Lexical repetitions* consist of reiterations of the same word or the same lexeme within the ode. For instance, the pair πολίων ‘of (the) cities’ (1) :: πόλιν ‘city’ (26) constitutes a lexical repetition of the same word in different cases; the pair παρθενίους ‘of the maiden(s)’ (9) :: παρθένος ‘the virgin’ (19) is a lexemic repetition since the same lexeme underlies diverse derivatives of the same root (adj. παρθενίους, subst. παρθένος), cf. TABLE 1.

Among non-lexical repetitions I distinguish between the semantic and the phraseological. *Semantic repetitions* consist of parallel expressions denoting the same being or object in different ways, by means of synonyms: take, for instance, the pair Περσεύς ‘Perseus’ (11) :: υἱὸς Δανάας ‘Danae’s son’ (17), cf. TABLE 2.

Phraseological repetitions are matches between analogous phraseological structures in which the same notions are expressed by means of synonyms. For example, the structure of both Φερσεφόνας ἔδος (2) and πόλιν Χαρίτων (26) may be described as a collocation of the type [PLACE-GODDESSES_{gen.}], cf. TABLE 3.

TABLE 1 *Pythian Twelve*, lexical repetitions

καλλίστα ... πολίων (1)	::	καλλίχορον ... πόλιν (26)
ναίεις (3)	::	ναίοισι (26)
ἀνδρῶν (4)	::	ἄνδρα (18) :: ἀνδράσι (22)
ἀοθανάτων (4)	::	θνατοῖς (22)
ἐφ’εὔρε (7)	::	εὔρεν ... εὔροῖς’(α) (22)
παρθενίους (9)	::	παρθένος (19)
κεφαλαῖς (9)	::	κεφαλᾶν (23)
καμάτῳ (10)	::	καμάτου (28)
μέρος (11), μοῖραν (12)	::	μόρσιμον (30)
λαοῖσι (12)	::	λαοσσόων (24)
ἄγων (12)	::	ἀγώνων (24) ^a

a Some of these repetitions have been identified by Newman–Newman 1984:87–90.

11 On sound- and word-repetitions in the Pindaric odes cf. Schürch 1971, who however does not provide a complete analysis of *Pythian Twelve*.

TABLE 2 *Pythian Twelve*, semantic repetitions

[MORTAL (MEN)]	βροτεᾶν (1)	:: ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς (22)	:: ἀνθρώποισιν (28)
[IMMORTALS/GODS]	ἄθανάτων (4)	:: θεός (22)	:: δαίμων (30)
[ATHENA'S INVENTION]	τέχνη (6)	:: κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον (23)	
[GODDESS ATHENA]	Παλλάς ... Ἀθάνη (7–8)	:: παρθένος (19)	:: θεός (22)
[HEADS]	κεφαλαῖς (9)	:: κράτα (16)	:: κεφαλᾶν (23)
[TOIL/EFFORT]	καμάτῳ (10)	:: πόνων (18)	:: καμάτου (28)
[PERSEUS]	Περσεύς (11)	:: υἱὸς Δανάας (17)	:: φίλον ἄνδρα (18)
[MEDUSA]	τρίτον ... κασιγνητᾶν μέρος (11)	:: Μεδοίσας (16) ^a	

a The expression θεσπέσιον Φόρκοι' (ο) ... γένος (13) “the monstrous race of Phorcus” may be understood as a reference to the Gorgons, to Medusa, or to the entire kin of Phorcus (chapter 5, section 2, 13). I concur with the latter interpretation. However, should a different explanation be preferred, 13 would constitute a semantic repetition with 7 (Γοργόνων) and/or 11 and 16 (τρίτον ... κασιγνητᾶν μέρος; Μεδοίσας).

TABLE 3 *Pythian Twelve*, phraseological repetitions

[PLACE-GODDESSES _{gen.}]	Φερσεφόνας ἔδος (2)	:: πόλιν Χαρίτων (26)
[to INHABIT-PLACE _{acc.}]	ναίεις ... εὐδματον κολώναν (3)	:: καλλίχορον ναίοισι πόλιν (26)
[WHO on/in PLACE-WATER _{gen.}]	ἄ ... ὄχθαις ἔπι ... Ἀκράγαντος (2–3)	:: τοί ... Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει (26–27)
[GOOD ^o FAME/GLORY]	εὐ ^o δόξῳ (5)	:: εὐ ^o κλέα (24) ^a
[LAMENT-GORGONS _{gen.}]	〈Γοργόνων〉 ... οὖλιον θρήνον (7–8)	:: τὸν Εὐρυάλας ... ἐρικλάγκταν γόνον (20–21)
[GODDESS-CREATES-SONG _{acc.}]	θρήνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνη (8)	:: τεύχε ... μέλος (19)

a The compounds may count in principle as synonyms and thus constitute a *semantic repetition*; however, I propose a factitive meaning for εὐκλέα ‘making good glory’ (chapter 5, section 2, 24).

4 Schematic Representation

The entire set of repetitions may be summed up as in SCHEME 3.¹² The repetitions evidenced in each section allow us to identify three main rings (SCHEME 4).¹³

12 Lexical repetitions = black, semantic repetitions = blue, phraseological repetitions = red.
13 1st ring = black, 2nd ring = red, 3rd ring = blue.

SCHEME 3 Ring-composition of *Pythian Twelve*

Αἰτέω σε, φιλάγλαε, καλλίστα βροτεᾶν πολίων,
 Φερσεφόνας ἔδος, ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἔπι μηλοβότου
 ναίεις Ἀκράγαντος εὐδματον κολώναν, ὦ ἄνα,
 ἱλαος ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε σὺν εὐμενίᾳ
 δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξω Μίδᾳ,
 αὐτόν τέ νιν Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνα, τάν ποτε
Παλλὰς ἐφεύρε θρασειᾶν <Γοργόνων>
οὐλίον θρήνον διαπλέξαις Ἀθάνᾃ·
 τὸν παρθενίους ὑπὸ τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς
 αἰε λειβόμενον δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ,
Περσεύς ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος
 εἰναλίᾳ Σερίφῳ λαοῖσί τε μοῖραν ἄγων.
 ἦτοι τό τε θεσπέσιον Φόρκοι' ἀμαύρωσεν γένος,
 λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτᾳ θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον
 δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος,
 εὐπαράου κρᾶτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας
υἱὸς Δανάας· τὸν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ φαμέν αὐτορύτου
 ἔμμεναι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων φίλον ἄνδρα πόνων
 ἐρρύσατο, παρθένος αὐλῶν τεῦχε πάμφωνον μέλος
 ὄφρα τὸν Εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων
 χριμφθέντα σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιτ' ἐρικλάγκταν γόνον.
εὖρεν θεός· ἀλλὰ νιν εὐροῖς ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν,
 ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον,
εὐκλέα λαοσσόνων μναστήρ ἄγωνων,
 λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονάκων,
 τοὶ παρὰ καλλίχορον ναίοισι πόλιν Χαρίτων.
 Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει, πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες.
 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου
 οὐ φαίνεται· ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἦτοι σάμερον
δαίμων—τό δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν,—ἀλλ' ἔσται χρόνος
 οὔτος, ὃ καὶ τιν' ἀελπτία βαλὼν
 ἔμπαλιν γνώμας τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' οὐπω.

SCHEME 4 Rings of Pythian Twelve

1st ring (1–4 :: 26–28)2nd ring (6–10 :: 19–23)3rd ring (11 :: 17–18)3rd ring (11 :: 17–18)2nd ring (6–10 :: 19–23)1st ring (1–4 :: 26–28)

5 Descriptive Analysis

The three main rings are layered and correspond to different sections of the ode. The first ring (1–4 :: 26–28) is created by lexical and semantic repetitions found in the first and the fourth strophe, i.e. in the incipit and transition/'excipit' section of the ode. A second ring (6–10 :: 19–23) may be identified between the end of the second strophe and the end of the third. It comprises the first 'mythological frame' concerning Athena's invention. A third ring of the ode (11 :: 17–18) opens and closes with references to Perseus—Περσεύς and υἱὸς Δανάας are the first words of 11 and 17,¹⁴ respectively, while φίλον ἄνδρα, placed at the end of 18 also refers to the hero. This ring is the second referring to myth and lies at the innermost part of the ode.

Rings are further interlocked by a variety of additional repetitions. Most lexemes, concepts, and phrasemes are repeated once, but some occur twice or more. Some hint at significant associations or oppositions. Terms for [IMMORTAL GODS] and [MORTALS/MORTAL MEN] are joined together in a *quantifier* designating [ALL (INTELLIGENT) BEINGS] at 4 (cf. chapter 5, section 2 ad loc.). At 22 and 28–30 different terms for [GOD], in the singular (: θεός, 22, δαίμων, 30), are opposed to words for [MEN/HUMAN BEINGS] (ἄνδρασι θαντοῖς, 23, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, 28). Both verses deal with the themes of divine power and divine gifts: at 23 Athena creates the tune of many heads 'for mortal men to have', at 28 within one of the final *gnōmai*, we learn that happiness (ὄλβος, 28) for humans, though achieved through toil, may be gifted by a δαίμων (etymologically 'the distributor', cf. chapter 5, section 4, 28).

Another group of reiterated lexemes is strongly connected with the myth of *Pythian Twelve*, which concerns the creation of the tune of many heads. More specifically, repetitions of the terms for [HEADS] (κεφαλαίς, 9, κρᾶτα, 16, κεφαλᾶν, 23) allude to the name of the *nomos* invented by Athena. The centrality of the theme of divine invention is also made evident by the three occurrences of the verb [to FIND/INVENT] (ἐφεύρε, 7, εὔρεν ... εὔροῖσα, 22) and differing references to Athena (Παλλὰς ... Ἀθᾶνα, 7–8, παρθένος, 19, θεός, 22), the discoverer of the *nomos*. These references seem to go in descending order of specificity: name + epithet (Pallas Athena), an attribution ('the maiden'), then 'a god', which may designate Athena or any other deity (see chapter 5, section 2, 22).¹⁵

Further lexical and semantic repetitions, namely: those of substantives meaning 'toil/effort' (καμάτω, 10, πόνων, 18, καμάτου, 28) and derivatives of *IE*

14 Cf. Nierhaus 1936:17 who highlights that υἱὸς Δανάας constitutes the 'high point' of the mythological narration.

15 I thank John Perchard, who kindly pointed out this pattern of distribution to me.

**smer-* 'to divide, distribute' (μέρος, 11, μοῖραν, 12, μόρσιμον, 30), seem to prepare the way to the themes Pindar develops in the final *gnōmai*. The terms for 'effort/toil' build a link between the Panhellenic winning auletic performer—Euryale emits her lament 'with sorrowful effort', Midas won in the 'difficult' art of the *aulos*—and Perseus, who is rescued from 'troubles' by Athena. In this regard, the correlation created through the lexical repetition σὺν καμάτῳ, 10 :: ἄνευ καμάτου, 28, is noteworthy. These expressions display κάματος in tautometric positions. Considered as isolated syntactic structures, σὺν καμάτῳ and ἄνευ καμάτου seem to express opposite complements ('with toil' vs 'without toil'). However, such an opposition is overcome if we look at the syntagms within their context: the Gorgons emit a lament with effort, which Athena re-enacts as a *thrēnos*; ὄλβος 'happiness, prosperity' ("esp. material prosperity", cf. Slater 1969 s.v. ὄλβος) does not appear 'without toil'. One may argue, however, that Athena's gift, i.e. the re-enactment of Euryale's *toilsome* lament, is the means by which Midas, through the *toilsome* effort of his performance, achieved ὄλβος, i.e. the prosperity deriving from his victory at Delphi.

The repetitions of derivatives of 1E **smer-* 'to divide, distribute' link the theme of the 'the allotment of fate' (μοῖρα, 12, μόρσιμον, 30) and the core event of the myth, i.e. the beheading of Medusa (τρίτον κασιγνητῶν μέρος, 11). In the final part of the ode, Pindar stresses that the allotment of fate is the inevitable destiny of all. Perseus fulfils the glorious part of his destiny by facing dangers and troubles (the Gorgons), but he must also thank the protection of Athena, who acts as Perseus' δαίμων. In this way the hero also manages to transform his mother's destiny and that of the inhabitants of Seriphus (μοῖραν ἄγων, 12), the latter being unexpectedly petrified (cf. ἀελπίξ, 31, ἔμπαλιν γνῶμας, 32). Medusa, the 'third part (μέρος) of the [Gorgon] sisters' (11) thus embodies the turning point of Perseus' allotment of fate (μόρσιμον, 30). However, the Gorgon also represents the means which changes the destiny of Danae, Polydectes and Seriphus' islanders. It is by overpowering this monstrous creature that Perseus achieves his prosperity and status as hero and mutates his mother's miserable condition for the better.

Linguistic Remarks

1 Pindar's *Kunstsprache*: Introduction

The dialectal basis of the language of Greek choral lyric is Doric.¹ Nevertheless, the Doric component is not equally ‘exuberant’ in all choral lyric poets.² Specifically, Pindar’s language is an artificial amalgamate of different Greek dialects, which taken all together seem to produce a non-Attic-Ionic colour. Indeed, many traits, which are traditionally identified as Doric—take, for instance, the preservation of [a:] (<α>) from inherited *ā*-vowels, in opposition to the outcome [ɛ:] (<η>)—are also peculiar to continental Aeolic dialects. Since some individual dialectal traits may be interpreted in different ways, Pindar’s language as a whole seems to escape any singular linguistic label: Watkins (1995:59) defines it as “a mixed literary Doric and Aeolic”; Willi (2008:75–76) describes the linguistics of the choral lyric in terms of the socio-linguistic phenomenon of “relexification”,³ in which Aeolic elements came to be integrated on a Doric basis. Other scholars put forth even more extreme hypotheses, identifying Aeolic, more specifically: ‘northern/continental’ Aeolic, as the poetic tradition from which the language of Pindar and Greek choral lyric derived.⁴

1 Cf. Buck 1955:15, Forssman 1966: 1X, Verdier 1972:9, Palmer 1980:119–130, Colvin 2007:54–55, Cassio 2005, Tribulato in Cassio 2016²:230–259.

2 Different elements may have affected the use of Doric forms by individual authors. First of all, the geographical provenience of the poets may have played a role: Simonides and Bacchylides, who are both from Ceos, make abundant use of Ionisms, whereas Alcman from Sparta seems to preserve many Laconisms (cf. Willi 2008:57). Other conditioning factors may be the type of composition, its literary models (characters or traditions mentioned in the ode, cf. Forssmann 1966), the geographical provenience of poets’ patrons, and location of the performance. It is also likely that ancient editors modified the texts on the basis of their convictions about the ‘appropriate’ dialect colour of choral lyric poems. Hinge 2006 identifies Late Laconic traits in the language of Alcman, probably due to a ‘hyper-Laconization’ by ancient editors. On Stesichorus’ language cf. Willi 2008:57–90.

3 I.e. a linguistic mechanism consisting in the extensive vocabulary replacement of a certain language with the preservation of the original grammatic structures of the language.

4 The hypothesis that choral lyric originated in a ‘Proto-Aeolic’ realm was recently defended by Maslov 2013. The fact that Pindar avoids Doric forms has been emphasized by Christ 1891:58–62 and Casevitz 1972. Grinbaum 1972, 1973 (cf. also García 1998), 2007, 2008, Pavese 1967, (on which see also Nöthiger 1971 and Trümper 1986), 1972 and Meillet (1975⁸) highlight

The Doric component of Pindar's language certainly does not stand out as much as in Alcman's language. However, it would be excessive to deny the presence of Doric elements in Pindar's work in favour of the 'northern hypothesis', since not all Doric elements can be explained as 'non-organic', i.e. as metrically equivalent Doric forms that allegedly came to substitute the original Aeolic ones. Moreover, there are no Aeolic traits that cannot be explained as (i) formally overlapping with Doric linguistic features, or as (ii) being imported from other prestigious literary traditions, such as the epic diction or the monodic lyric.⁵

With regard to Pindar, another factor adds to the difficulty of any possible linguistic consideration. The tradition of the Pindaric text is intricate: editors disagree on the *stemma codicum*, which makes it difficult to assess the genuineness of dialectal forms, especially in cases where different manuscripts attest different traditions.

In these conditions, one fruitful approach to the poet's language is to consider it a *Kunstsprache*, i.e. a 'language of art', in which several dialectal traits merge. In this context, since this study focuses on *one* Pindaric ode—and not on the entire Pindaric corpus—I will limit my analysis to the linguistic traits of *Pythian Twelve*'s language which are recognizable as typical of certain dialectal groups and/or literary genres (hexameter poetry, Lesbian poets). Thus, my analysis does not aim at solving the puzzle that Pindar's individual word- and dialect-choices pose to us. Conversely, the purpose of the following pages is to illustrate how the Pindar's 'language of art' works, by using *Pythian Twelve* as an example.

2 The Pindaric *Kunstsprache* in *Pythian Twelve*

Since the notion of *Kunstsprache* commonly applies to the language of Greek hexameter poetry,⁶ my use of this term or its English renderings ('artistic language', 'language of art') in connection with Pindar demands an additional specification. Pindar's artistic language 'behaves' differently from that of epics: the language of Greek choral lyric does not depend on formulas nor on a fixed metrical scheme, such as the hexameter. Nevertheless, it seems to refer to a pre-

the Aeolic colour of Greek choral lyric. Tribulato in Cassio 2016²:249–250 stresses that Aeolic traits in Pindar's odes are not recognizable as 'exclusively Aeolic'.

5 Willi 2008:76 coins the word "Stilkontakt" to describe the relationship between Stesichorus and the language of the Greek epics.

6 Cf. e.g. Meister 1921.

existing literary tradition (Forssman 1966, Sotiriou 1998, Massetti 2019). Additionally, it exhibits the reflexes of very ancient phraseology, which may even be recognized as ‘descriptively Indo-European’⁷ (Wüst 1970, Watkins 2002a, 2002b, Toporov 2012, Massetti 2019, Meusel 2020). Moreover, the role played by metrics is anything but marginal. Metrical schemes may affect individual lexical and/or linguistic choices, but *Kunstsprache* guarantees the poet enough flexibility to comply with the requirements of the metre. Examples of metrically conditioned morphological ‘inconsistencies’ are the gen.sg. of *o*-stems Φόρκοι’(ο) (13) vs μῆλοβότου (2), εὐπαράου (16), χρυσοῦ ... αὐτορύτου (17), λεπτοῦ ... χαλκοῦ (25), καμάτου (28), the dat.pl. of *o*-stems λαοῖσι (12) vs ἀνθρώποισιν (28, followed by vowel; metrically non-equivalent to ἀνθρώποισι) vs θνατοῖς (22) or the use of augmented vs augmentless preterite forms (aor, impf.),⁸ cf. augmented: αἶε (10)⁹ ἄυσεν (11),¹⁰ ἐρρύσατο (19),¹¹ ὠνύμασεν (23) vs ἀμαύρωσεν (13), θῆκε (14).¹²

Below I list the dialectal features of Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve*. As already touched upon, since some traits commonly identified as ‘Doric’ are actually recognizable as dialectal isoglosses that several Greek dialects share, they will be grouped as (i) ‘Non-Attic-Ionic’ and (ii) ‘Non-Attic’. Furthermore, in group (iii) I distinguish traits that are shared with the language of Greek ‘hexameter poetry’ and may be identified as Aeolic, Ionic or common to Ionic and Aeolic, in (iv) ‘Lesbian’ features and in (v) ‘Doric’ features.

- 7 By ‘descriptively’ Indo-European I mean that phraseological parallels may be identified within the IE language family, i.e. within its different branches. Several parallels for Pindaric phraseological usages have been identified within the Indo-Iranian tradition. This speaks in favour of a common Greek-Indo-Iranian poetic inheritance, i.e. a ‘late (Core-)IE’ poetic inheritance. Despite the fact that Indo-Iranian languages are among the IE languages of oldest attestation, it is commonly assumed that they were the latest linguistic branches to split from the IE family tree (as a recent reference cf. Olander 2018).
- 8 In principle, augmentless forms may be recognized as injunctives with a ‘memorative’ function (cf. Hoffmann 1967). As a recent reference with updated bibliography cf. Willi 2018:400–404.
- 9 I consider the form as augmented, but a present stem αἶω* is attested in Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 59 (αἶων). The forms ἐφεύρε (7), εὔρεν (22) would probably appear as such even in chronological and geographical contexts in which the augment is consistently marked. However, ἡύρισκον, ἡύρον* are attested in literary Att. 5th c. BCE (Aeschyl. *Pers.* 474+).
- 10 In both αἶε (10) ἄυσεν (11) the augment is not realized with the insertion of an extra-vowel *ê- (*[h_ɛ]e-), but with the lengthening of the vowel, cf. García Ramón 2017:672. On the augment in Greek see also Willi 2018:357–416.
- 11 Cf. Buck 1955:51 (a).
- 12 Willi 2008:74–75 refers to some of these traits in Stesichorus as features that allow a relative flexibility to the poet.

(i) 'Non-Attic-Ionic traits' (= 'Doric' and other dialects)

– IE $*-eh_2-$ or $*-\bar{a}-$ > $-\bar{a}-$

cf. ματρός (14), εὐπαράου (16) < $*^o par-h_2 eus-\bar{a}-$, λαοσσόων (24, vs λεω^o, cf. λεω-σφέριτος, Hdt. 9.33), Καφισίδος (27) (cf. Κηφισίδι [Il. 5.709+])

$*eh_2$ -suffix > \bar{a} > $\bar{\alpha}$, cf. nom.sg. $*eh_2\#$ > $-\bar{\alpha}\#$ cf. ἄ (2) < $*seh_2-$, Ἀθάνα (8) < $*eh_2-neh_2$ (?)

gen.sg. $*eh_2-s$ > $-\bar{\alpha}s$, cf. Φερσεφόνας (2), Δανάας (17), Εὐρυάλας (20), γνῶμας (32)

dat.sg. $*eh_2-ei$ > $-\alpha$, cf. τέχνα (6), Πολυδέκτα (14)

acc.sg. $*eh_2-m$ > $-\bar{\alpha}n$, cf. κολώναν (3), τάν (6) < $*teh_2m$, δουλοσύναν (15), ἐρικλάγκταν (21)

voc.sg. $*eh_2\#$ > $-\bar{\alpha}$, cf. καλλίστα (1)

$-eh_2$ of $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$ -verbs, cf. νικάσαντα (6), τελευτάσει (29)

– Gen.pl. $*eh_2$ -suffixed stems (Buck 1955:41) like in Arc. and WGk.

cf. gen.pl. $*eh_2-s\bar{o}m\#$ > $-\bar{\alpha}-$ + $-\omega n\#$ > $-\bar{\alpha}\omega n$ > $-\acute{\alpha}n$: βροτεᾶν (1), θρασειᾶν (7), κασιγνητᾶν (11), καρπαλιμᾶν (20), κεφαλᾶν (23), πολλᾶν (23), χορευτᾶν (27)

vs Boeot.,¹³ Thess. $-\acute{\alpha}\omega n$, Lesb. $-\bar{\alpha}n$, Ion. $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega n$, $-\acute{\omega}n$, Att. $-\acute{\omega}n$

– IE $*N_hh_2$, $*L_hh_2$ > $*N/L\bar{a}$ > $v/\mu/\lambda\bar{a}$ (Buck 1955:21):

$*N_hh_2$ > $N\bar{\alpha}$: $*\eta h_2-$ > $\mu\bar{\alpha}$, cf. ἐϋδματον (3) < $*^o d\eta h_2-$

$*\eta h_2-$ > $\nu\bar{\alpha}$, cf. θνατοῖς (22) < $*-d^h\eta h_2-$, μναστῆρ(α) (24) (IE $*m\eta h_2-$)

$*L_hh_2$ > $L\bar{\alpha}$: $*l_hh_2-$ > $\lambda\bar{\alpha}$, cf. ἴλαος (4) < $*sisl_hh_2-$,¹⁴ ἀπλάτοις $*\eta^o p_l h_2-$ (9)

– Gk. o > u (Cowgill's Law) in ὄνομα, ὀνομάζω (< IE $*h_1/h_3\eta h_3-m\eta-$): ὠνόμασεν (23)

– Dat.sg. s -stems $*-es-i$ > $*-e^h i$ > $-\epsilon i$, cf. δυσπενθέι (10)¹⁵ vs Att. $*-es-ei$ > $-e^h ei$ > $-\epsilon\acute{i}$

– Apocope of prepositions/preverbs (rare in Att.-Ion., but frequent in other dialects), cf. παρφυκτόν (30)

(ii) 'Non-Attic traits':

– $*to$ -stem pronoun as relative pronoun like in Lesb., Thess., Arc.-Cypr., Boeot., Heracl., Cyr., WGk. (late inscriptions)

cf. τάν (6), τόν (9, 17), τοί (26)

– Maintenance of $-i-$ throughout the inflection of i -stems (Buck 1955:91)¹⁶

cf. gen.pl. $*-i-s\bar{o}m\#$ > $-i-\omega n\#$ > $-i\omega n\#$: πολίων (1), ὀφίων (9)

– Acc.sg. es -stems adj. $*es-\eta$ > $*e^h-a-$ > $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$

¹³ However, τᾶν is attested in Boeotia.

¹⁴ As per Klingenschmitt 1970.

¹⁵ The form τεμένει (27) is attested in Att. prose as well.

¹⁶ Gen.sg. πολέως is attested in Chios and Thasos, cf. Buck 1955 loc. cit.

cf. εὐκλέα (24) < **h₁su-kleues-ni*

vs **e^h-a-* > -η (contracted) in Att. (although °κλεα [acc.sg.] compounds are attested) Rhod. (inscr. 6th c. BCE), Lac. (inscr. 6th c. BCE), Ion., Troez., Delph.

– conj. ὄφρα cf. Ion., Dor., lyric passages of Att. tragedies.

(iii) Traits in common with hexameter poetry (Aeolic and Ionic):

– Inf. *-menai* (*-men-ai*, on which cf. García Ramón 2021a)

cf. inf.athem.pr.: ἔμμεναι (18) < **h₁es-men-ai*

vs Att.-Ion. εἶναι, Arc. ἦναι, Thess. Boeot., West diall. εἶμεν, Cret. ἦμην, Rhod. and colonies εἶμεν

vs them.inf. -ειν (cf. ἔχεν, 22) as in Att.-Ion., Thess., Locr., Corinth., Meg., Rhod., while Lesb., El., Lac. -ην

Ionic:

– Gen.sg.them. **-osjo* > -οιο: Φόρκοιο (13) like in Homer, cf. also Thess. -οι (apocope cf. Buck 1955:88), vs Att.-Ion. -ου, Cyp. -ον, -ο

– Dat.pl.them. -οισι(ν), merger of loc.pl. and instr.pl. endings (?) **-o-su* (loc.pl.) + **-ois* (instr.pl.)

– IE **-o-su#* (loc.pl.) > **-si#* > **-οισι#* cf. also early Att., Ion., Lesb., Pamph., early Arg., Syrac., occasionally Cret. cf. λαοῖσι (12), ἀνθρώποισιν (28) vs -οῖς: θνατοῖς (22)

– *éw*-verbs without contraction, cf. αἰτέω (without contraction, cf. αἰτέων Hdt. 6.49.3)

– Metrically lengthened εἰναλίξ, as in Homer. The form ἐνναλίξ (mss.) is a hyper-Aeolism.

(iv) Lesbian features (cf. also Cyr.)

**-V-ns-*, **V-ns#*, **V-nsi#* > *-Vis-(i)*, with *-s-* < *-ts-*, *-ti-*, *-tj-* (Buck 1955:67–68)

cf. nom.masc.sg.sigm.aor.ptc. **-nt-s-* > **-ns-* > -αις: συλάσαις (16)

nom.fem.sg.sigm.aor.ptc. **-nt-ĭ-ā-* > **-ns-ā-* > -αις: διαπλέξαις (8)

nom.fem.sg.them.ptc. **-ont-ĭa-* > **-ons-ā-* > -οῖς: Μεδοῖσας (16), εὐροῖσας (22)

3.pl.ind.pract. **-ont-i#* > **-onsi* > **-oisi* > -οῖσι: ναλοῖσι (26)

(v) Doric features (cf. also Epidauros)

– 3.sg.encl.pron. νιν (6, 22, 29) vs μιν (hexam.), ἐαυτόν (Att.-Ion.)

– **ki-Heh₂mer-o-*: σάμερον (29) vs σήμερον (hexam., Ion.), τήμερον (Att.)

As already anticipated, the analysis of single forms of *Pythian Twelve* does not provide us with new data with respect of what was already known about Pindar's language. Conversely, it confirms the composite character of the poet's *Kunstsprache*: the linguistic amalgamate does not allow us to isolate a 'prevailing' dialect colour. Yet it can be clearly recognised as non-Attic(-Ionic). The basis of the amalgamate is likely to be Doric. Nevertheless, this Doric component appears quite 'diluted' within the ode (e.g. Pindar uses Att.-Ion. ποτε not Dor. ποκα [Alcm., Stes.], Att.-Ion. εἰ not Dor. αἰ [Alcm., Stes.]). Moreover, it is difficult to identify the cause of the dilution or amalgamation process in Pindar's language. Some dialectal traits, namely: epic/Ionic and Lesbian, may reflect the influence of other literary poetic traditions and genres. Another factor that must have played an important role in a possible 'dilution'-process is Pindar's audience, not intended as the audience in front of which single poems were performed, but as the audience of Pindar's epinicia as a whole. That is, Pindar's addressee, as Palmer (1980:119–130) rightly emphasises, is a Panhellenic public. Therefore, the employment of linguistic elements of different geographical origin is functional to the workings of Pindaric *Kunstsprache*, since it guarantees the poet the necessary flexibility.

Text

1 Colometry

The ode is monostrophic and consists of four eight-verse strophes. It is written in *kat'enoplion*-epitrites. The metres are as follows:

TABLE 4 Colometry

1	-- UU - UU - -- UU - UU - ^H	2pros
2	- UU - UU - -- UU - UU -	angel (hem pros)
3	-- UU - UU - -- U --- U x ^H	pros zepitr ^{ia}
4	- UU - UU - -- UU - UU - ^H	angel (hem pros)
5	-- UU - UU - -- U --- U x ^H	pros zepitr ^{ia}
6	-- UU - UU --- - U --- U x	en zepitr ^{tr}
7	- UU - UU - x - U x	hem epit ^{tr} ^{ia}
8	- U --- U --- U ---	epitr ^{tr} (stesich)

As pointed out by the scholia and recently emphasized by Gentili 2006:317 (“Nota metrica”), 2, 4, and 8 are typical Stesichorean schemes (*angelicum* and *stesichoraicum*, on which cf. Haslam 1974). At 3, Gentili 2006 reconstructs a scheme -- UU-UU- x-U- -- U x which allows him to preserve the form ἄνυσεν, otherwise to be changed in ἄνυσεν or ἄνυσσεν (see chapter 5, section 2, 11). I concur with Snell–Maehler’s (1987) interpretation (– UU-UU– – U– – –U x). At 24, the form εὐκλέα, preserved by the manuscripts, creates an anacastic responsion, admitted by Gentili.¹ However, as Bowra (1930:182) points out, it is possible that the -ᾱ of εὐκλέα is metrically lengthened by λ- (λαοσ-σώων).

1 Gentili 2006:317 describes 8 as epitr^{tr} (~ cho) epitr^{tr}.

2 Synopsis of Readings

TABLE 5 Synopsis of readings

	Massetti	Snell–Maehler 1987	Snell–Maehler 1980	Gentili 2006
10	καμάτῳ,	καμάτῳ,	καμάτῳ	καμάτῳ,
11	Περσεὺς	Περσεὺς	Περσεύς,	Περσεὺς
11	ἄυσεν	ἄυσεν	ἄυσεν	ἄνυσεν
12	εἰναλίᾳ	ἐνναλίᾳ	ἐνναλίᾳ	ἐνναλίᾳ
13	ἦτοι	ἦτοι	ἦτοι	ἦτοι
22	νιν	νιν	νιν	μιν
24	εὐκλέα	εὐκλεᾶ	εὐκλεᾶ	εὐκλέα
25	θαμὰ	θαμὰ	θαμὰ	θ' ἅμα
30	τὸ δὲ	τὸ δὲ	τὸ δὲ	τό γε

3 Text

ΜΙΔΑΙ ΑΥΛΗΤΗ ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΙ

- A Αἰτέω σε, φιλάγλαε, καλλίστα βροτεᾶν πολίων,
 Φερσεφόνας ἔδος, ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἔπι μηλοβότου
 ναίεις Ἀκράγαντος εὐδματον κολώναν, ὦ ἄνα,
 Ἴλαος ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε σὺν εὐμενίᾳ
 5 δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξῳ Μίδᾳ,
 αὐτόν τέ νιν Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνη, τάν ποτε
 Παλλὰς ἐφεύρε θρασειᾶν <Γοργόνων>
 οὐλίον θορήνον διαπλέξαις Ἀθήνα·
- B τὸν παρθενοῖς ὑπὸ τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς
 10 ἄιε λειβόμενον δυσπενθεῖ σὺν καμάτῳ,
 Περσεὺς ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητᾶν μέρος
 εἰναλίᾳ Σερίφῳ λαοῖσί τε μοῖραν ἄγων.
 ἦτοι τό τε θεσπέσιον Φόρκοι' ἅμαῦρῳσεν γένος,
 λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτα θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον
 15 δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος,
 εὐπαράου κρᾶτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας

- Γ υἱὸς Δανάας· τὸν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ φαμέν αὐτορύτου
 ἔμμεναι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων φίλον ἄνδρα πόνων
 ἐρρύσατο, παρθένος αὐλῶν τεύχε πάμφωνον μέλος,
 20 ὄφρα τὸν Εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμῶν γενύων
 χριμφθέντα σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιτ' ἐρικλάγκταν γόνον.
 εὔρεν θεός· ἀλλὰ νιν εὐροῖσ' ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν,
 ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον,
 εὐκλέα λαοσσών μναστήρ' ἀγώνων,
- 25 λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονάκων,
 τοὶ παρὰ καλλιχόρον ναίοισι πόλιν Χαρίτων.
 Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει, πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες.
 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου
 οὐ φαίνεται· ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἦτοι σάμερον
 30 δαίμων—τὸ δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν,—ἀλλ' ἔσται χρόνος
 οὔτος, ὃ καὶ τιν' ἀελπίτῃ βαλὼν
 ἔμπαλιν γνώμας τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' οὐπω.

1. βροτεῶν D || 2. ὄχθους V | ἔπι Schm.: ἐπὶ codd. || 3. ὦ om. D || 4. εὐμενία(α) VByz.: εὐμενεία(α) BEFGHIΦ || 5. εὐδόξου μίδα EFΣ || 7. Γοργόνων suppl. Tricl. e Σ || 8. διαπλέξαισ' VB: διαπλέξῃσ' Φ διαπλέξασ(α) rell. codd. | Ἀθάνα om. I || 9. παρθένους V || 10. δυσπενθεί Byz.: δυσπενθεῖ codd. || 11. ἄνυσεν pler. codd.: ἄνυσεν ΦΣ^p v.l.: ἄνυσσεν Boe. || εἰναλίξ Ps.-Mosch.: ἐνναλίξ Schr. ἐναλίξ codd. || 13. ἦτοι Φ: ἦτοι rell. codd. || 16. εὐπαράξου Ahr. | συλάσσαις Hey.: συλήσαις B συλήσας G συλήσας rell. codd. || 17. αὐτορύτου V^{ac}EFH^{ac}Φ^{ac}Π⁴²: αὐτορρύτου V^{pc}H^{pc}Φ^{pc} et rell. codd. || 19. ἐρύσατο V || 21. ἐρικλάγκταν BEΦΠ⁴² in marg.: ἐρικλάγκτα F ἐρικλέγκταν V ἐρικλέγκτην GH (-τον) || 22. νιν vett.: μιν BΠ⁴² || 23. ὠνύμασεν Hey.³: ὠνόμασε(ν) codd. | πολλῶν B | 24. εὐκλέα codd.: εὐκλέα Schr. εὐκλεᾶ Schm. et pler. edd. || 25. διανισόμενον V || θαμὰ BEFDHIΦΠ⁴² v.l. (ἔνιοι θαμὰ): θ' ἅμα VΣ¹Π⁴² || 26. καλλιχόρον Π⁴²: καλλιχόρῳ BFDHIΦ καλλιχώρῳ V || ναίοισι VB | Φ: ναίουσι FDH νάοισι Π⁴² || πόλει vI || 27. χορευταὶ B || 30 τὸ δὲ Tricl.: τὸ γε codd. Π⁴² | οὐ παρφυκτόν BFDIΠ⁴² (γρ[άφετ(αι)] κ(αί) οὐ παρφυκτόν Π⁴²) οὐ παρφεκτόν H οὐ πα φυκτόν VΠ⁴² || 31 ἀελπίτῃ edd.: ἀελπίτια VFGDH ἀελπία B ἀελπεία Mo. | λαβὼν Φ

4 Translation²*To the aulete Midas from Acragas*

I entreat you, lover of brilliance, most beautiful of mortal cities,
 abode of Persephone, you who dwell upon the well-built height
 On the banks of the sheep-grazed Acragas, O queen,
 Along with the goodwill of immortals and men, benevolent,
 Welcome this crown from Pytho for Midas of good fame
 And him himself, who beat Hellas in the art
 Which Pallas Athena once invented
 As she braided the deathly *thrēnos* of the fierce Gorgons.
 She heard it being poured forth, with sorrowful pain,
 From under the unapproachable snaky heads of the maidens,
 When Perseus raised a shout to the third part of the sisters,
 Bringing doom to maritime Seriphus and its people
 Yes, he weakened the monstrous race of Phorcus
 And made repentful for Polydectes the feast, the constant
 Bondage of his mother, and her enforced bed,
 When he took out the head of strong-cheeked Medusa—
 The son of Danae, who, it is said, was born of self-flowing gold.
 But when she had rescued the beloved man from those troubles,
 The maiden built a melody with all the voices of the pipes,
 So that she might re-enact with instruments the loud lament
 That was extracted from the trembling jaws of Euryale.
 The goddess invented it, but invented it for mortal men to have,
 And she called it the tune of many heads,
 A glory-making memento of the contests, which stir people,
 often passing through the thin bronze and reeds,
 Which dwell by the Graces' city of beautiful dancing places
 In the precinct of Cephisis, as faithful witnesses of dancers.
 If there is any happiness among men, it does not appear without toil.
 Whether a god bring it to fulfilment today (or not)—what is fated cannot be
 avoided—else Time will be such that, striking someone unexpectedly,
 it will give one thing against hope, and defer another.

2 Translations by Lattimore, Hölderlin, Romagnoli, Boeckh, Hynd and Middleton are compared and discussed by Carne-Ross 1968.

Linguistic Commentary

1 Invocation (1–6)

In the first six verses the chorus addresses Acragas. This invocation provides us with some fundamental information on the Panhellenic victory: winner's hometown (1–3), winner's name (5), place of victory and discipline in which the victory was obtained (6, cf. chapter 1, sections 1 and 3). An opening apostrophe to the winner's personified hometown is also found in *I.* 7.

Together with *O.* 12 (1, λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου) *P.* 12 is the only Pindaric victory ode beginning with 'I entreat', though it does not comply with the standard traits of the cletic hymn (e.g. Sapph. 1.1–3 V ποικιλόθρον' ἄθᾶνατ', Ἀφροδίτα ... λίσσομαί σε, || μὴ μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα on which see Cameron 1939, Privitera 1967, Burzacchini 2005; on the cletic hymn see also Pfister 1924, Meyer 1933), featuring an explicit 'I call' (e.g. Sapph. 1.16 V δῆυτε κάλημμι; cf. *O.* 14, *N.* 7.1–4) and a verb of movement in impv. (e.g. Sapph. 1.5 V τυῖδ' ἔλθ' [ε]; *descende* in Norden's [1913:148] terminology; cf. *P.* 11.1–10, *N.* 3.1–3). Here, instead, Acragas is invited to welcome Midas and his victory ode. This is a Pindaric *topos*, which is occasionally found in the first verses of encomia ἐπὶ νίκῃ, (cf. *O.* 5.1–3, *P.* 8.1–4, *N.* 11.1–5, *O.* 4.6–10, *O.* 8.9–10, cf. Schadewaldt 1928:269, who defines δέξαι 'formulaic' (see also Heath 1988:189, Bremer 2008:6–7)). In such passages the impv. 'welcome!' is preceded by the accusative of the thing/the person that shall be welcomed by the addressee and by a series of vocatives with embedded relative or participle clauses (*P.* 8.3–4), usually following the first or the second (*P.* 8.1–2) vocative. The beginning of *Pythian Twelve* is slightly different from the above cited parallels: the initial appeal ('I entreat you') is followed by four vocatives (1–3) encasing a relative clause (2–3)—the antecedent of this clause is the second person singular σε 'you' (thee), at 1—, which is located between the third and the fourth vocative. A sequence of this kind creates a sense of solemn suspension. In *P.* 12 the *rallentando* increases the expectations of the audience, as it lends a certain grandeur to the announcement of the winner's name (first named after 5 verses). Indeed, the poet's request is only clarified at 5, the impv. δέξαι being additionally preceded by a predicative and a modal complement (4). The verb is, in turn, followed by the accusatives of the thing and the person that Acragas is invited to welcome (5–6).

I would claim that the naming of Acragas supports the conclusion that the ode was performed in the winner's hometown (cf. chapter 1, section 3). For a

visual disposition of the syntactic elements in the apostrophe cf. Sulzer 1961:34. On the *prooimion* and further Pindaric comparanda cf. Maslov 2015:310.

1 Αἰτέω ‘I entreat’, cf. αἴτημί σε (fr. 155.3), αἰτέω σε (N. 9.30). In Pindar, the verb is usually constructed with 2 acc. (of the person entreated and of the thing entreated), or acc. (of the person entreated) and inf. (of the thing entreated). On the use of the first person in Pindar cf. D’Alessio 1994, Currie 2013. In our verse, the speaking persona is the chorus. This is the only Pindaric instance of αἰτέω being followed by an acc. of the person asked (1, σε) and an impv. (5, δέξαι, cf. Slater 1969 s.vv. αἰτέω, αἴτημι, cf. Hummel 1993:274), i.e. another sentence. A construction of this description resembles that of λίσσομαι ‘I entreat/beseech’, followed by the impv. of the thing requested in O. 12.1–2, P. 1.71, N. 3.1–3, and constructed with acc. and impv. in fr. 52f.1–6 (*Pae.* 6.1–6 = D6 Rutherford) σε, χρυσέα | κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ || λίσσομαι [...] με δέξαι ‘I beseech you, golden Pytho famous for seers, welcome me’ (as *per* Race 1997b, differently, Slater 1969 s.v. λίσσομαι). According to Lefkowitz 1991:35, together with O. 14, P. 12 may be recognized as a ‘dedicatory’ ode, i.e. as a poem in which the poet’s task is to offer prayer, unlike the epinicia, which have an encomiastic scope. I believe that an encomiastic component, though not as prominent as in epinicia honouring tyrants or aristocrats, is definitely present (cf. 5, εὐδόξω Μίδῳ, 6, Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνα) albeit Midas is extolled in a different way to what Pindar’s modern-day readers are used to: i.e. he is praised in relation to the glorious past of his art (τέχνα) rather than to his lineage (on Midas’ glory see also chapter 10).

1 σε ‘you’, (2.sg. ‘thee’), the city of Acragas, personified. Acragas is allegedly homonymous of the local nymph (cf. MacLachlan 2021:40–41). This mythological figure is only mentioned in Σ P. 12.1a Dr. πρὸς τὴν ἡρωῖδα τὴν Ἀκράγαντα, while Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of a male (river) Acragas (see below, 3 Ἀκράγαντος). In fact, since names ending in -ας (gen.sg. -αντος, with a ptc. suffix) are masculine (cf. Risch 1974²:26–27 on the Homeric MNS), a feminine Acragas would be unique. Although a nymph called Nestis was worshipped in Acragas (cf. Portale 2012), she is not the nymph Acragas. The existence of such a character is a secondary invention by Pindar’s scholiast.

1 φιλόγλαε ‘lover of brilliance’ first occurs in P. 12.1 and is glossed as φιλόκαλος ‘lover of beauty’ by Σ P. 12.1ab Dr. The compound is also attested in Ba. 13.225 (as an attribute of ‘hospitality’), 18.60 (of Athens), fr. 3.13 and Pos. E. 136.3 (of Eros). Compounds with FCM φιλο° are already attested in Mycenaean (cf. e.g. WN *Pi-ro-wo-na* /*Philowoinā*/, PY Ae 344, MY V 659.7). According to Risch 1974²:193 (cf. Tribulato 2015:168, 334–335, 421–422), the so-called ‘φιλοπτόλεμος-

type' was primarily possessive ('having a[n] own/beloved X'), but soon came to be associated with φιλέω 'to love'. As a consequence, they came to overlap a compound type with a verbal FCM: 'loving X'. Gk. φιλάγλαος is remarkable: most compounds of type φιλοπτόλεμος exhibit the structure [φιλο°SUBSTANTIVE], cf. e.g. φιλομμειδής (*Il.* 5.375+, with SCM μεῖδος 'smile') etc. The same applies to the Pindaric compounds with FCM φιλ(ο)°. ¹ In contrast, φιλάγλαος reflects a rare structure [φιλο°ADJECTIVE], ² since its SCM is the adj. ἀγλαός 'splendid, shining, bright' (*Il.* 1.23+), synchronically connected to the semantic field of 'beauty' (cf. ἀγλαΐα, ἄγαλμα, on which cf. Neer–Kurke 2019:46, 92–122, esp. 95–96).

The syntax underlying the compound may thus be reconstructed as [to LOVE (φιλο°/φιλέω)–SPLENDID/BEAUTIFUL THINGS (: ἀγλαά)] or [to LOVE–the SPLENDID THING (*par excellence*: light/feast)]. According to Meusel 2020:562, ἀγλαός is a lexicalized variant of φαεννός 'shining', with which it shares a number of phraseological matches, e.g. ἀγλαόκωμος (*O.* 3.6), κῶμον ... φάος ἄρετᾶν "kōmos (feast/celebration) ... light of excellent deeds" (*O.* 4.9–10), the subst. φάος being an etymological congener of φαεννός. ³ To this we may add that since Antiquity ἀγλαός has been glossed through λαμπρός, cf. Hsch. α 587 LC ἀγλαά· λαμπρά, which, in turn, shares collocations with φαεννός (cf. Massetti 2019:133). Since ἀγλαός applies to φάος in fr. 52m.15 (*Pae.* 12.15 = G1 Rutherford), we can assume that it was indeed associated with the semantic field of 'light, brightness' in the Pindaric *Sprachgefühl*. If φιλάγλαος meant 'loving the shining [light, i.e. φάος]', *ex Graeco ipso* it matches [φάος–φιλεῖν], Eur. *HF* 90, and [φάος–φίλος], Eur. *IA* 1509.

1 καλλίστα βροτεᾶν πόλιων "most beautiful of mortal cities", cf. *Od.* 5.101 βροτῶν πόλις, Eur. *Hipp.* 486 θνητῶν ... πόλεις; for καλλίστα ... πόλιων cf. *P.* 9.69 καλλίσταν πόλιν.

2 Φερσεφόνας ἔδος "abode (lit. seat) of Persephone". The GN Φερσεφόνα (Pi.) is one of the so-called 'poetic forms' of Persephone's name. The form Φερσεφόνα, together with other versions of the name with an initial φ- (e.g. Φερ[ρ]όφαττα,

1 Cf. φιλάνωρ (MN, in *O.* 12.13, epithet in fr. 236), φιλάρματος (*I.* 8.20), φίλιππος (*N.* 9.32), φιλοκερδής (*I.* 2.6), φιλόμαχος (fr. 164), φιλόμολπος (*N.* 7.9), φιλόνικος (*O.* 6.19), φιλόξενος, φιλόξεινος (*I.* 2.24, *O.* 3.1), φιλόπολις (*O.* 4.16), φιλόφρων (*P.* 1.94, *P.* 8.1) and the subst. φιλοτιμία 'ambition' (fr. 210) and φιλοφροσύνη 'act of friendliness' (*O.* 4.14, fr. 128d.14).

2 Cf. the type 'fond of jeering' (*Od.* 22.287+, cf. adj. κέρτομος, -ον subst. in κέρτομα βάζειν, Hes. *Op.* 788).

3 Both φάος and φαεννός are based on IE *b^heh₂- 'to shine, become visible', cf. LIV² 68–69, IEW 104–105; on φάος cf. Peters 1993:107, NIL 7–11.

Φερρόφαττα [Att. vase-paintings, 5th c. BCE], Φερσέφασσα [Soph., Eur.], Φερσέφαττα Aristoph., etc.), reflects a synchronic connection between the goddess name and the verb φέρω (cf. Wachter 2007–2008:165). Indeed, according to ancient lexicographers, Persephone is the ‘bringer (φέρω) of death (φόνη) or profit (ἄφενος)’, cf. EM 665.50 <Περσεφόνη>· παρά τὸ φέρω καὶ τὸ φόνος, cf. Hsch. φ 317 HC Φερσεφόνεια· ... ἡ φέρουσα τὸ ἄφενος ... διὰ τὸν καρπὸν, <ῆ> ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν ὄνησιν.⁴

As Persephone is the spouse of Hades (cf. e.g. HH 2), her house is most commonly identified as the underworld (cf. e.g. O. 14.21 μελαντεϊχέα νῦν δόμον Φερσεφόνας, I. 8.55 δῶμα Φερσεφόνας). Without any context, the ‘abode of Persephone’ would probably seem apt to designate the goddess’ gloomy kingdom. Here, contrary to our possible expectations, the abode of Persephone is *sunny* Acragas (cf. 1, φιλάγλαε ‘lover of brilliance’). The collocation [ABODE–PERSEPHONE_{gen.}] is a variation kenning for the city in which the goddess was worshipped,⁵ cf. other kennings with the structure [ABODE–GOD/GENOS/HERO_{gen.}], in which ἔδος (*s*-stem from IE **sed-* ‘to sit’, cf. LIV² 513–515, IEW 884–887, NIL 590–600, Stüber 2002:144–145) expresses ‘abode’, e.g. “Ὀλυμπον ... ἀθανάτων ἔδος (Il. 5.360+), θεῶν ἔδος ... “Ὀλυμπον (Il. 5.367+). *Ex Pindaro ipso* cf. P. 2.7 ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος (= Ortygia), N. 4.11–12 Αἰακιδᾶν || ἡΰπυργον ἔδος (= Aegina); *ex Graeco ipso* cf. also Aeschl. Pers. 126, TrGF 158.3, TrGF 664a.4, Eur. TrGF 781.35 (= *Phaeth.* 248). Further Pindaric and Aeschylean passages make reference to a certain place as the ‘seat’ (ἔδρα : **sed-reh*₂) of a divinity, cf. O. 7.76, O. 14.2, I. 7.44, Aeschl. Ag. 596.

The kenning alludes to the cult of Persephone in Acragas. According to Pindar (N. 1.14), Zeus gave Sicily to Persephone; indeed, the scholia specify (cf. Σ O. 6.161g.2 A, N. 1.17 A) that Sicily or Acragas (Σ O. 2.15d Dr.) were given to the goddess εἰς τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (“the presents given to the bride when she first took off her veil”, cf. Gildersleeve 1885 *ad P.* 12.2). In the 6th c. BCE three sanctuaries

4 Φερσεφόνια means ‘slayer of sheaves’, cf. Περσεφάττα < **perso-k^untiā-*, cf. Wachter 2006, *contra* Petersmann 1986, Anttila 1997, 2000:164–165: ‘die von Feuer (πέρρα), Licht Übervolle’ (with SCM from IE **g^uhen-* ‘to swell’, as *per* Heubeck 1954), Bader 1989:38: ‘who destroys (πέρθω) death’ (with φόνη from IE **g^uhen-* ‘to kill’), Janda 2000:224–250: ‘die das/den Glänzende(n) (φάος) hinüberbringt (πείρω, πορεῖν)’. On the etymology of the name and its variants, see now Nussbaum 2022.

5 A kenning (pl. kennings or *kenningar*) is “a bipartite figure of two nouns in a non-copulative, typically genitival grammatical relation (A of B) or in composition (B-A/A-B) which together make reference to, ‘signify’ a third notion C” (Watkins 1995:44). According to Mittner 1954:15, we can distinguish a ‘substitution kenning’, which replaces one term in the poetic discourse, and a ‘variation kenning’, which is juxtaposed to the term it refers to, as iteration, apposition, epithet etc. For a study and a repertoire of kennings in Greek literature cf. Wærn 1951.

near the city (Sant'Anna, San Biagio, and the Rock Sanctuary) were dedicated to the cult of Demeter and Persephone. A further sanctuary in honour of Demeter was built by Theron between 490 and 480 BCE, cf. Hinz 1998:70–92, Mertens 2006:197, 239, 317, Holloway 2000:60–63, Hannah–Magli–Orlando 2017.

2 ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἔπι “who on the banks”. This relative clause is comparable to an ornamental epithet (cf. Hummel 1993:321–322, 390). Gk. ὄχθη may apply to a height of any kind (e.g. *Od.* 9.132+). In Pindar it often means ‘river-bank’ and is usually preceded by παρά or ἐπί, cf. *P.* 4.46 Καφισοῦ παρ' ὄχθαις, *N.* 9.22 Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι, *I.* 5.42 Καίκου παρ' ὄχθαις. I concur with Bernardini 2006⁴:671 (*contra* Cerrato 1934) in taking the relative clause as referring to σε ‘you’ (1), i.e. the personified city (καλλίστα ... πολίων, fem.) and not to Persephone or the (inexistent) nymph Acragas (cf. 1 σε, 3 Ἀκράγαντος).

2 μῆλοβότου “sheep-grazed (i.e. grazed by the sheep)” is built with the same lexical material as the compound μῆλοβότης ‘shepherd’ (*I.* 1.48+), the collocation [μῆλα_{nom.}–βόσκειν], cf. *Od.* 12.128, *HH* 3.412, and the GN Μηλόβοσις (*HH* 2.420).⁶ The epithet only applies to the river Acragas (Ἀκράγαντος, 3) in Pindar. The wording of 2–3 Φερσεφόνας ἔδος, ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἔπι μῆλοβότου ... Ἀκράγαντος resembles that of Hes. fr. 180.3–4:

..... πυ]ροφόρου Ἀσίης ἔδος [
..... μῆλ.]οβότους Ἑρμῶν πάρα δ[ινῆεντα

... seat of wheat-bearing Asia [] sheep-grazed, beside the [eddy] Her-
mus ...

TRANSL. MOST 2007

3 ναίεις ... ἐϋδματον κολώναν “you, (who) dwell upon the well-built hill”. Acragas was located on a hill (San Biagio). The verb ναίω builds a repetition with 26, cf. chapter 2, section 4 (1st ring).⁷ The collocation [ναίω–κολώννα_{acc.}] matches [ναίω–κολωνός_{acc.}], occurring in Hes. fr. 59.2: ναίουσα κολωνούς (of Coronis).

6 μῆλοβότου: the compound is first attested in Hesiod and reflects a ‘type θεόδητος’ (Risch 1974²:210–211), i.e. a compound with a zero-grade deverbal (ptc.) SCM, which, in this case, is based on βόσκειν (IE *g^ueh₃- ‘to feed’, cf. Tribulato 2015:373–374).

7 ναίω reflects **hes-je/o-*, from IE **nes-* ‘to go home’, cf. LIV² 454–455, IEW 766–767, Forte 2017: ‘to turn’, Frame 2009: ‘to return’, Ginevra 2022: ‘to return safely home, to attain the desired goal’. ἐϋδματος, ‘well-built’ (attested only here, in Pindar), Ion. ἐϋδητος (*Il.* 1.448+), is a ‘θεόδητος-type’ with a FCM εὔο (:IE **hes-* ‘good’ [adj.] and ‘well’ [adv.], *u*-stem from **hes-* ‘to

3 Ἀκράγαντος “of Acragas”, gen.sg. of Ἀκράγας, -αντος, river and city name. The genealogy of the river is recalled by Stephanus of Byzantium α 167 (= *Ethn.* p. 62.15) ἀπὸ Ἀκράγαντος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἀστερόπης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ. According to Lewis (2019), in Pindar’s odes for Acragantine victors (*O.* 2, *O.* 3, *P.* 6, *P.* 12, *I.* 2), the river Acragas is a civic symbol “rooted in the [...] landscape”. The centrality of the water stream in the civic imagery may be confirmed by the analysis of the numismatic evidence: by the end of 6th c. BCE Acragantine coins featured a crab (Kraay 1976:208, Jenkins 1990:43), interpreted by Holloway (2000:124) as a pun on the river’s name (cf. *κάρκινος* ‘crab’, Ἀκράγας).

3 ὦ ἄνα “O queen” (= Att. ὦ ἄνασσα). The form ἄνα is feminine only here, being mostly employed as voc.sg. of masc. ἄναξ (so in *P.* 9.44, cf. Alph. Gk. [F]ἄναξ ‘ruler’, cf. Leumann 1950:39–44; Myc. *wa-na-ka* /*wanaks*/, PY Na 334+, designating a functionary) vs *I.* 5.6 ὠνασσα “O queen”.⁸ The vocative preceded by ὦ and the form ἄνα are probably not used to convey a particular tone or emotion (cf. Dickey 1996:199–206 with bibliography inherent poetic usages). Greengard 1980:57 argues that the vocative may suggest here a ‘reinvocation’ of the deity, which precedes the victory announcement. But, as I already pointed out, no deity is actually called upon in this beginning passage. Although Persephone is named at 2, it is unlikely that she is the referent of the vocative. ‘O queen’ must again refer to personified *polis* Acragas. In my view, the word choice is aimed at creating a quasi-echoing effect within the verse (κολΩΝΑΝ Ω ΑΝΑ). Echoes of this kind are occasionally fashioned by Pindar, as a representative example cf. *N.* 3.1 ὦ ΠΟΤΙΑ ΜΟΙΣΑ, ΜΑΤΕΡ ΑΜΕΤΕΡΑ.

be’, cf. LIV² 241–242, IEW 340–341, cf. Pinault 2003:162–165, Nussbaum 2014:231), and, as SCM, a *to*-adj. from δέμω ‘to build’ (IE **demh₂*- ‘to build’, cf. LIV² 114–116, IEW 198–199, cf. Nikolaev 2011). The compound can perfectly match YAv. *hu.ḍāta*- ‘well formed/made’ (= **h₂su-dm̥h₂-tó*-, Y 9.16+; differently, Bartholomae AirWb. 1824 s.v., tracing ὀḍāta- back to YAv. **ḍā*- ‘to put/set’, IE **d^heh₁*-). The term κολώνᾱ (also found in fr. 140b.5), exists as well as κολωνός ‘hill’ (HH 2.272+; on the word-formation cf. Schmeja 1963, Peters 1980:168). The forms reflect a thematization (κολωνός) and an individualizing feminine (κολωνᾱ) derived from an *n*-stem (**kolH-n*- from IE **kelH-* ‘to rise up’ cf. LIV² 349, IEW 544, cf. Lith. *kálnas* ‘mountain’, Lat. *collis* ‘hill’ < **kolnis*, OE *hyll*, MoE *hill* < PGmc. **hulni*-).

8 ὦ ἄνα: a feminine form *wa-na-sa** /*wanat^a*-/* (: ἄνασσα, cf. Peters 1980:289–290) is also attested in PY Fr 1219.2. The etymology of the term remains opaque: Willms 2010 supports Szemerényi’s (1979) proposal, i.e. **uen-aġt*- (?) or **uē-aġt*- ‘leader’ (IE **h₁aġ*- ‘to lead, convey’ [**h₂eġ*- in LIV² 255–256, cf. IEW 4–5]) of the kin/people (IE **uen*-). Alternatively, the FCM **uē*- could be interpreted as ‘goods’ or ‘victory’ cf. Ved. *van* ‘to overpower, conquer’ (IE **uen*- on which, as a recent reference, cf. Weiss 2018), **uē-aġt*- ‘conveyer’ (IE **h₁aġ*-) of goods (IE **uen*-) could formally match Ved. *vanij*- ‘merchant’ (RV 1.112.11a+). Palaima 1995 proposes a non-IE origin for the wanax’ functions.

4 ἱλαος “benevolent ... receive (δέξαι)”; cf. [εὐφρων_{pred.}–δέχομαι], *P.* 9.73, *N.* 5.38; on the phraseology ‘to receive benevolently’ cf. chapter 1, section 3.

4 ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε “of immortals and men”. The expression can be identified as a *quantifier* (or merism) for the notion of [TOTALITY], in this case: “all intelligent beings” (West 2007:100). Quantifiers of this type usually consist of a pair of contrasted terms and display two different structures: (a) [ARGUMENT + NEGATED-ARGUMENT], e.g. ‘the living and the non-living’, or (b) [ARGUMENT + COUNTER-ARGUMENT], e.g. ‘the living and the dead’ (cf. Watkins 1995:46). In Pindar, merisms for [ALL (INTELLIGENT) BEINGS] exhibit both structures (a) and (b), and are expressed by means of different lexemes for the [ARGUMENT + NEGATED/COUNTER-ARGUMENT]. The Pindaric quantifiers also find perfect and partial phraseological matches in Greek and other IE languages, cf.

- (a) [MORTAL + IMMORTAL]: Pi. [θνατός + ἀθάνατος] displays derivatives of IE **d^henh₂-* ‘to leave’ (LIV² 144–145, cf. IEW 249, *contra* Beekes EDG s.v. θάνατος) for both members of the collocation, cf. fr. 169.2 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων (cf. *Il.* 12.242+) and can be compared to Ved. [*mártya-* + *amṛta-*] cf. e.g. *amṛtam mártyaṃ ca* (RV 1.35.2b+), exhibiting an identical structure and different lexemes—Ved. *mártya-* and *amṛta-* are derivatives of IE **mer-* ‘to die’ (cf. LIV² 439–440, IEW 735). The variant [MORTAL (**mer-*) + IMMORTAL (**ṇ-d^hnh₂-*)], with different lexemes expressing the two members of the collocation, occurs in the epics (*Il.* 11.2+), but is not attested in Pindar.
- (b) [MORTAL/MAN + IMMORTAL/GOD]: different combinations are attested:
 - (b.1) [IMMORTAL (IE **d^henh₂-*) + MAN (IE **h₂ner-*)], cf. *P.* 12.4 ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε;
 - (b.2) [GOD + MORTAL (IE **mer-*)],⁹ cf. *P.* 3.30 οὐ θεός οὐ βροτός, which can be compared with Ved. *devásas ca mártāsas ca* “gods and mortals” (RV 6.15.8+), Av. *daēuuāišcā mašīiāišcā* “with/by daēvas and mortals” (pl.instr., Y 29.4);
 - (b.3) [GOD + HUMAN], with different lexemes for ‘human’ (ἄνθρωπος ‘human’, ἀνὴρ ‘man’),¹⁰ cf. *P.* 9.40 ἔν τε θεοῖς ... καὶ ἀνθρώποις, fr. 194.6

9 A type [IMMORTAL + MORTAL MAN] and [IMMORTAL GOD + MORTAL MAN] is attested in *Il.* 14.199 ἀθανάτους ἦ δὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπου, *Od.* 24.64 ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ’ ἀνθρώποι.

10 In further Pindaric passages [GOD] and [MAN] occur at close distance, but in a different syntactic relation (i.e. non-copulative), cf. *O.* 1.64–66, *O.* 11.10, *P.* 3.81, *N.* 6.1, *N.* 10.54.

θεῶν καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγυιάς, fr. 224 θεὸν ἄνδρα τε,¹¹ which can be compared with ON *godð öll ok gumar* “all gods and humans” (*Ls.* 45:3, 55:6), *allra guðanna ok manna* “among all gods and men” (*Gylf.* 21).¹²

4–5 σὺν εὐμενίᾳ || δέξαι “along with the goodwill (of all) receive”.¹³ Cf. [σὺν (εὐμενῆς νόος)_{dat.}–δέχομαι] in *P.* 8.19, fr. 52e.45 (*Pae.* 5.45 = D5 Rutherford); cf. also, though more vaguely, *O.* 5.2–3 καρδίᾳ γελανεῖ || δέκευ.

5 δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' (ε) “receive this crown”. Panhellenic champions were awarded crowns. Since laurel was sacred to Apollo, Pythian winners were crowned with laurel (Blech 1982:137–138). In Pindar's poems, the collocation [δέχομαι–CROWN_{acc.}] is well attested in connection with victory events since [ATHLETE_{nom.}–δέχομαι–CROWN_{acc.}] equates [ATHLETE–WINS], cf. *O.* 6.27, *P.* 1.100, *I.* 3/4.11, *I.* 6.4 and *P.* 9.125, containing a substitution kenning for ‘crown’: πτερὰ ... νικᾶν “the wings of victory”. Here, however, ‘this crown’ is a metaphor for the hymn. A closer look at the usages of στεφάνωμα in Pindar reveals that the term means ‘the (metaphoric) crowning object’ which is awarded to the victor. In a complementary fashion, the hymn is occasionally compared to a crown (cf. section 1.1 below).

5 ἐκ Πυθῶνος “(sc. coming) from Pytho”. According to Riaño Rufileanchas (2001:68), this reference hints to the fact that the ode was performed in Acragas. Pytho (Πυθών, Πυθῶνος), the other name of Delphi, is related to Πυθώ, the name of she-serpent killed by Apollo. According to the foundation myth, the god established the agon in honour of his enemy's death (Davies 2007, see also chapter 1, section 1). As we learn from *HH* 3, the name Pytho was synchronically connected to the verb πύθω ‘to rot’, cf. *HH* 3.373–374 Πύθιον ἀγκαλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον, οὐνεκα κεῖθι || αὐτοῦ πύσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἥελιοιο.¹⁴

11 In principle, *Pi. P.* 4.13 παῖδες ὑπερβύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν could also belong to this group. In the passage, however, Medea is addressing the Argonauts, who (literally) are ‘sons of gods and heroes’. Therefore, it is unlikely that the expression means ‘you all’.

12 ON *godð öll ok gumar* matches Hes. *Th.* 372–373 ἐπιχθονίοισι [...] ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι “to the humans and the immortal gods”, since both ON *gumi-* ‘man’ and Gk. ἐπιχθόνιος ‘terrestrial’ derive from the IE **dʰǵʰom-*/**dʰǵʰem-* ‘earth’, cf. also *Il.* 5.442 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων “of the immortal gods and men who walk on the earth”.

13 σὺν εὐμενίᾳ: εὐμενία, poetic form for εὐμένεια, is a substantivizing/individualizing feminine based on a possessive compound εὐμενῆς ‘whose μένος (mental energy) is good’ (*HH* 22.7+, on εὐ° see above, 3). The compound matches μένος ἦϋ “brave spirit” (*Il.* 17.456+); yet it perfectly overlaps Ved. *sumánas-* ‘benevolent’ (RV 1.36.2c+), YAv. *hu.manah-* ‘id.’ (Vr. 3.3+), cf. Durante 1962:33. Ved. [*bhadrá–mánas-*] “good mental energy” (RV 2.26.2b+) may partially match Ved. *sumánas-*, cf. Schmitt 1967:120.

14 Πυθῶνος: as pointed out by Toporov 1974 (cf. also Watkins 1995:460–463), it is likely that

5 εὐδόξω Μίδᾱ “for Midas of good fame”. As already touched upon (chapter 1, section 1), the lack of references to the winner’s *genos* suggests that he did not belong to an illustrious family. Μίδᾱς is also the name of the Phrygian king whose figure, as Roller (1983:309–310) highlights, came to be associated with qualities and achievements considered by the Greeks as ‘typically’ Phrygian, including music. In fact, King Midas is credited with the invention of a type of *aulos* (Pli. *HN* VII 204, Athen. 617b) and with the introduction of *aulos*-music at sacrifices and funerals (*Suid.* s.v. ἔλεγχος). It is probably for this reason that Clay (1992:519) and Martin (2003:169, fn. 69) surmise, though without any strong textual support, that *P.* 12’s Midas is a stage name of Phrygian colour. Although the traditions on king Midas and the invention of flute music are preserved in sources that are dated at a much later age than Pindar, it is tantalizing to imagine that these connections were older. If so, *our* Midas, whether Midas be his real name or his stage name, would have borne a name of a certain mythological and musical weight.

Gk. εὐδοξος displays a SCM °δοξος, cf. Gk. δόξα ‘fame’, a linguistic cognate of δέχομαι (cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. δόξα, see also chapter 10, section 4). Since κλέος and δόξα are synonyms (Masseti 2019:116–117), εὐδοξος semantically overlaps εὐκλεής ‘having good fame’ (also ‘making fame good’, with factitive nuance, see below, 24). Gk. εὐκλεής is the inherited compound for ‘having good glory/fame’.¹⁵

6 αὐτόν τέ νιν “and him, himself”, cf. Slater 1969 s.v. νιν “combined with αὐτόν, emphatic”. For the city receiving and welcoming (δέχομαι) the winner cf. *O.* 4.9, *P.* 8.19, *N.* 4.11, *N.* 5.38, *N.* 11.3. In *P.* 9.73 ἄ νιν εὐφρων δέξεται recalls Ἰλαος ... δέξαι ... νιν (cf. 4–5 and chapter 1, section 3).

Πυθώ reflects a derivative of IE *b^heydʰ- ‘bottom’ also seen in Gk. πυθμήν ‘bottom of a vessel, the sea’, cf. Ved. *budhná-* ‘bottom’, OE *botem* (MoE *bottom*), ON *botn* ‘id.’. Primordial dragons are traditionally located ‘at the bottom (of something, e.g. the sea, the cosmic tree)’, cf. Ved. *áhi-* *budhnyá-* ‘the serpent of the depth’ (RV 7.34.16–17+) and ON *Niðhoggr*, who is situated at the bottom of the tree Yggdrasil (cf. Dumézil 1959, Ström 1967, Ginevra [forthc./b]). Significantly, the Ved. collocation [*áhi*–*budhnyá-*] matches Gk. Πυθώ ... ὄφιν (Call. *H* 2.100–101).

- 15 εὐδόξω cf. εὐκλεής: εὐκλεής reflects *h₁su-kléyes- and has a perfect match in Ved. *susrávas-* ‘having good fame’ (RV 1.49.2c+); Av. *hu.srauuah- ‘id.’, cf. YAv. MNS *Haosrauuayhan-*, *Haosrauuayhana-*, and *Haosrauuah-* (with secondary ‘substantivizing’ vřddhi, cf. Rau 2007); OIr. *sochlu* (on which cf. Thurneysen 1946:216); further partial matches are the OCS MN *Vescleves* and YAv. [*vayhu*–*srauuah-*], in which ‘good’ is expressed by means of IE *mesu- ‘good’ (Schmitt 1967:82–87).

6 Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνα “(him,) who beat Hellas in the art (which ...)”. Gk. νικάω and τέχνη also combine in Hes. *Th.* 496 νικηθεὶς τέχνησι βίηφί τε. For ‘Hellas’ as a designation for ‘Panhellenic competitors’ cf. *P.* 11.50, *N.* 10.25. According to Σ *P.* 12.12a Dr. (followed by Slater 1969 s.v. τέχνα, Köhnken 1971:143–144, 1976:263–265, Sotiriou 2001:124, Bernardini 2006⁴:672; cf. also chapter 6, section 2) τέχνα refers here to the αὐλητική τέχνη ‘art of playing the *aulos*’. This interpretation is supported by the fact that τέχνα regularly denotes ‘skill’ or ‘craft’ in Pindar, not ‘the object produced by means of a skill’ (a meaning attested in Soph. *OC* 472+). Conversely, Mezger (1880:197) Schroeder (1922:112), Wilamowitz (1922:144), Burton (1962:26), Schlesinger (1968:276) and Pöhlmann (2010–2011:45) argue that the verse refers to the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. I believe that such an implicit reference could provide a solid basis for the choice of the myth. This interpretation may be sustained by making reference to semantic and lexical repetitions within the ode (cf. chapter 1, section 4, chapter 2, sections 4–5).

1.1 *Excursus: στέφανος and στεφάνωμα in Pindar*

Two Gk. terms for ‘crown’, στέφανος ‘crown, wreath’/‘garland’ and στεφάνωμα, ‘id.’ are derivatives of IE **(s)teg^{mh}* ‘to crown’ (so Beekes EDG s.v. στέφω). Specifically, στέφανος is a (*a*)*no*-derivative of the root, while στεφάνωμα reflects a deverbal *m_n*-formation to the denominative verb στεφανόω ‘to crown’. In Pindar, στέφανος (43x) mostly denotes ‘crown’, ‘wreath’ as a physical object, whereas στεφάνωμα (8x) designates the ‘crowning object’. Besides referring to ‘crown/wreath’ (cf. *N.* 5.54, *I.* 2.15, fr. 333a.7), στεφάνωμα is often used metaphorically (cf. *P.* 1.50, *P.* 9.4, *I.* 3/4.44, *I.* 3/4.61). Conversely, for στέφανος only two instances out of 43 reflect a metaphorical usage of the term: in *O.* 8.32 στέφανος applies to a ‘circling wall’. Since Σ *O.* 5.1b Dr. identifies the expression στεφάνων ἄωτον ‘the crowns’ choicest flower’ as the ‘hymn’ in *O.* 5.1, it is commonly assumed that στέφανος stands for ‘hymn’ in the passage. In my opinion, however, the kenning [στέφανος_{gen.pl.}–ἄωτος] might just refer to the ‘best crowns’, i.e. those awarded to winners of the Panhellenic games in honour of Zeus (cf. Kurke 1993:140).

According to ancient commentaries, στεφάνωμα is a metaphor for ‘song’ in *P.* 12.5 (Gildersleeve 1885 *ad P.* 12.5, Bernardini 2006⁴:672; differently, Kurke 1993:140, who supports a literal meaning ‘crown’), cf. Σ *P.* 12.7 Dr. τὸ ἐκ τῆς Πυθῶνος στεφάνωμα, τὸν ὕμνον; Σ *P.* 12.5 *prae* 8 Mo. τότε τὸ στεφάνωμα τοῦ ἐνδόξου μίδα τὸ ἐκ πυθῶνος, ἦτοι τὸν ὕμνον τόνδε τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν πυθίων γινόμενον αὐτῷ. The term στεφάνωμα also designates the hymn in Eur. *HF* 355–356: ὕμνησαι στεφάνωμα μόχθων [...] θέλω. This parallel supports the idea that στεφάνωμα is a metaphor in our passage as well.

The semantic distribution of the pair στέφανος ‘physical crown’ vs στεφάνωμα ‘the thing with which I crown someone/something’, i.e. the *metaphoric* crowning object, may be a Pindaric usage that reflects a morphological distinction. Indeed, στεφάνωμα seems to preserve the semantic de-instrumental nuance of the denominative στεφανόω from which the term is derived. The metaphor [HYMN/POEM] = [CROWN] finds parallels *ex Pindaro ipso* and *ex Graeco ipso*. In Simon. FrGH 1a.8.F 6 στεφανηπλόκος ‘weaving a wreath/garland’ (with a FCM based on στέφανος) applies to Homer: τὸν δὲ Ὀμηρον στεφανηπλόκον, [...] τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπλέξαντα τὸν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας στέφανον. Not only do the verbs ‘to sing’ and ‘to crown’ appear at close distance in Pindaric and Bacchylidean poetic discourse, as if they were hinting at concomitant and/or associated gestures, cf. *P.* 8.56–57, *N.* 7.77, *Ba.* 4.14–18 (cf. Nünlist 1998:215–223; cf. also D’Alessio 2004:288, fn. 75), but, in a variety of Pindaric passages, the verb ‘to crown’ also means ‘to celebrate with song and dance’, e.g. *O.* 1.100–103 ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι || κείνον ἱππῖω νόμῳ || Αἰοληΐδι μολπῇ || χρῆ (cf. *N.* 5.53–54, *I.* 5.62–63, *I.* 7.39, *I.* 7.49–51, *I.* 8.66a–67). After all, hymns and crowns both materialize victory, in an ‘audible’ or a ‘visible’ form. For this reason, Pindar stresses that these things *are received* by the winner and by his fatherland (cf. chapter 10, section 4), cf. [δέχομαι–στέφανος_{acc.}] (see above), cf. [δέχομαι–SONG/HYMN_{acc.}], cf. *O.* 5.3, *O.* 6.98, *O.* 8.10, *O.* 13.29, *P.* 1.80, *P.* 5.22, *I.* 1.51, fr. 52f.129 (*Pae.* 6.129 = D6 Rutherford). Remarkably, in *O.* 1 the hymn is represented as a crown (Nisetich 1975, cf. also Stoneman 1981), being the subject of the verb ἀμφιβάλλω ‘to put around (: to crown)’ cf. *O.* 1.8–9 ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται || σοφῶν μητίεσσι (on πολύφατος cf. Hummel 1992; on ἀμφιβάλλω, cf. Slater 1969 s.v. “to put τι around τινι, crown with”, who points out that the verb is employed in connection with ‘crown/wreath’ and ‘hair’ in *P.* 3.13, *P.* 5.31, while the context of fr. 337.5 is unclear).

Finally, both ‘crowns’ and ‘hymns’ are imagined as objects which can be ‘braided/woven’, as in the collocation [(δια)πλέκω–στέφανος_{acc.}], underlying στεφανηπλοκέω ‘to plait wreaths’ (Sapph. 125 V+), cf. *O.* 2.74–75 ἀναπλέκοντι ... στεφάνους; *N.* 9.53 θεμιπλέκτοις ... στεφάνοις; fr. 70c.7 (= *Dith.* 3.7) πλόκον σ[τεφά]νων κισσίνων, and [(δια)πλέκω–SONG_{acc.}], on which see below 8, [θρήνον] διαπλέξαισ’ Ἀθήνα.¹⁶ Significantly, in *P.* 12.5–8 Midas’ hymn is imagined as a crown (woven by Pindar), while Athena is said to have *braided* a song inspired

16 Cf. also *Ba.* 19.5–8 φερεστέφανοι Χάριτες | βάλωσιν ἀμφὶ τιμάν | ὕμνοισιν ὕφαινε νυν ἐν || ταῖς πολυράτοις τι καινόν “... whose songs are crowned with honour by the garland-bearing Graces. Weave, then, in lovely (Athens) something new”. Here φερεστέφανος is reminiscent of στεφαναφόρος ‘bringing wreaths/crowns’ (*Ba.* 19.51, fr. 2, fr. 20b.48) and the collocation [CROWNING OBJECT_{acc.}–φέρω], connected with the Graces in *Pi.* *N.* 5.54 φέρε στεφανώματα

by the Gorgons' lament. This suggests to us a possible overlap between Pindar (weaver of crowning hymns) and Athena (weaver of the 'tune of many heads').

2 Transition (7–8) and Myth (8–24)

The reference to the τέχνα through which Midas triumphed at Delphi works as the starting point for the mythological digression of the ode, which is introduced by a relative clause (6–8). For a visual description of 6–7 cf. Sulzer 1961:23, who identifies chiasmic structures.

The transition occupies the last verses of the first strophe, while the mythological excursus is fully developed in the following strophe (cf. Nierhaus 1936:58–59, who stresses that the narration is 'over-bridging' the strophe's limits). This section concerns the genesis of the 'tune of many heads'. After Perseus decapitates the Gorgon, Medusa's sisters Euryale and Sthenno lament for their loss. Athena, who assisted Perseus in his endeavour, hears their sounds and composes a melody by imitating the Gorgons' and the Gorgons' serpents' cries. And so the 'tune of many heads' is born. Perseus then brings Medusa's head to Seriphus and manages to free his mother Danae from the slavery Polydectes had imposed on her. In chronological order, the actions of Perseus and Athena are as follows:

- a Athena helps Perseus and Perseus beheads Medusa
- b Athena hears Euryale's lament and decides to imitate it
- c Athena *finds* the 'tune of many heads'
- d Perseus shows Medusa's head in Seriphus, petrifies the islanders, and frees Danae.

The mythological digression is constructed in a chiasmic way. The focus moves from Athena (7–10) to Perseus (11–18) and then back to Athena and her invention (18–23), forming two concentric rings (cf. chapter 2, sections 4–5). The events concerning the creation of the *nomos pollān kephalān* are firstly presented in descending chronological order (i.e. from the most recent to the most ancient), then in ascending chronological order (i.e. from the most ancient to the most recent), according to a process also found in Greek epics (cf. e.g. Latacz 2009:27 *ad Il.* 1.12b–21, Gaisser 1969) and elsewhere in choral lyric (e.g. Pi. P. 3.8–46). The section starts by mentioning Athena's invention (7–8); Pindar

σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν. Moreover, the Bacchylidean expression βάλωσιν ἀμφὶ τιμάν || ὕμνοισιν (6–7) resembles ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται || σοφῶν μητίεσσι (Pi. O. 1.8–9).

then moves backwards in time: at 9–10, a new relative clause connects Athena's invention to the moment in which the goddess hears the Gorgons' lament that she decides to re-enact. At 11 a temporal clause shifts the focus further back to the clash between Perseus and Medusa. The poet then concentrates on the heroic achievements of Perseus (11–16), which are presented in ascending chronological order: Perseus defeats Medusa and thanks to her head petrifies the inhabitants of Seriphus (11–12). At 13–15, advancing towards the centre of the ode, Pindar highlights the extraordinary nature of Perseus' victories by providing more details about his achievements. The emphatic particle ἤτοι at 13 and the use of copulative coordinating elements at 14–15 do not simply contrast with the hypotactic constructions, by means of which the poet has so far played with the chronological dimensions of the myth, but also work to reaffirm the definitive triumph of Perseus over all his enemies in an accumulative, almost catalogue-like form. Within the participle clause at 16 the expression κράτα συλάσαις is located at the very centre of the poem, a position which gives prominence to Perseus' culminating act.

The scene of Perseus producing Medusa's head or the moment that immediately precedes it are both attested on Attic vase-paintings dated around the end of 6th c. BCE. On an Attic hydria (cf. Tsountas 1885:124–125, πίναξ 5) a character, most likely identifiable as Polydectes, sits close to Perseus, who stands on a βῆμα and holds the κίβισις. The beholder glimpses Medusa's head, which has not yet been shown to the tyrant of Seriphus. Scenes of the head's production are found on the red-figure Attic pelike from Cerveteri (Museo Villa Giulia, Roma; *LIMC* s.v. Polydektes 2) and the kalyx krater from Camarina, dated ca. 480 BCE and attributed to the Mykonos Painter (Museo Civico, Castello Ursino, Catania, cf. ARV² 515.6, 1657, *LIMC* s.v. Polydektes 3, Barresi–Valastro 2000:82–84, nr. 63).¹⁷

After this section, a quick reference to Perseus' extraordinary birth, once again within a relative clause (17), marks the second part of the circular digression. The narration then proceeds in an almost uninterrupted ascending chronological order (18–23). The section begins with a temporal clause (ἐπεί, 18): after Athena rescues Perseus, the goddess invents a melody to imitate Euryale's lamentation and calls it 'tune of many heads' (19–23). The comparison between the time of the myth and the sequences of the mythological digression may be summarized as follows:

17 Further artistic representations are: an Etruscan bronze statuette dated to the 1st half of the 4th c. BCE (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, inv. nr. 1929.22); a Roman coin from Argos (2nd–3rd c. BCE, probably portraying a statue from the *herōon* of Perseus in Argos, cf. Imhoof-Blumer–Gardner 1887:35).

TABLE 6 Chronological order and mythological digression

Chronological order	Mythological digression
a Athena helps Perseus and Perseus beheads Medusa	c Athena <i>finds</i> the tune of many heads (7–8)
b Athena hears Euryale's lament	b Athena hears Euryale's lament (9–10)
c Athena <i>finds</i> the tune of many heads	a Perseus beheads Medusa (11, 13, cf. 16)
d Perseus frees Danae in Seriphus	d Perseus frees Danae in Seriphus (12, 14–16) → Perseus was born from [Danae and] flowing gold
	a Athena helps Perseus (18–19)
	b Athena hears Euryale's lament (20–21)
	c Athena <i>finds</i> the tune of many heads (22–23)

As TABLE 6 makes evident, the structure of the mythological excursus manages to underscore both the ‘peripheral facts’, i.e. Athena’s invention, and the central events, i.e. Perseus’ heroic endeavours. Indeed, the descending and ascending chronological sequences concerning the origin of the ‘tune of many heads’ depart from and emphasise the central image of Medusa’s head (16). The emphasis is additionally expressed by the lexical repetitions of the section. As already touched upon (cf. chapter 2, sections 4–5), between 7 and 22 the terms for ‘to find/discover’ (ἐφευρίσκω, εὕρισκω) and ‘head(s)’ (κεφαλαί, κράς), are repeated three times each. While the repetition of the verb stresses the action of Athena, the repetition of ‘head(s)’ hints at Perseus’ victory’s token, the name of the newly invented melody, and the origin of this same melody.

The mythological digression concludes with Athena’s gifting men the *nomos kephalān pollān*, ‘glory-making memento of the contests’ (24). The reference to the context in which the *nomos* is performed somehow reconnects the poem to the present and paves the way to the next conceptual transition of the ode.

6 τάν ποτε “the one (that) once”, cf. *P.* 10.31. The relative pronoun often marks the passage to the mythological section in Pindar’s odes, cf. Jllig 1932:32, fn. 4, Des Places 1947:48–50, Slater 1969 s.v. ποτε (b) and 1983:118, Carey 1981:18, Hummel 1993:326–327, Devlin 1995:98–100, Bonifazi 2004:42–47. Carey 1981:67 underlines that, by using relative clauses to introduce mythological excursus, Pindar gives the impression of extempore composition and avoids rhetoric rigidity.

7 Παλλὰς ‘Pallas’, epithet of Athena (cf. Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, *Il.* 1.200+), here goddess of musical invention.¹⁸ The Pindaric version of the myth is reprised by Nonnus of Panopolis (cf. Massetti 2023), who, just like Pindar, connects the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος with the Gorgons’ lament. In the *Dionysiaca*, Athena is also said to invent the ὁμοζυγέων τύπον αὐλῶν “the type of pipes united with one yoke” by imitating Euryale’s lament (*D.* 24.35–38). Thus, for Nonnus, the invention of the double-piped *aulos* is concurrent with that of the νόμος πολυκέφαλος (cf. chapter 6, section 5). Differently, Pindar seems to omit the tradition concerning ‘Athena *primus inventor* of the *aulos*’, the *aition* of the ode actually concerning only the invention of the νόμος κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν. Since the myth is essentially unparalleled in antiquity, Vivante (1990) and Wallace (2003:79) propose that it is a Pindaric invention. According to Steiner 2013:175, Pindar constructs the myth so as to provide an authoritative antecedent for novel and controversial aspects of his musical technique as well as to eradicate the association between the *aulos* and Phrygia/the Phrygian mode. In my opinion, this latter point contrasts with the Phrygian name of the winner, Midas (see above, section 1, 5), which may support a Phrygian association. To be sure, the invention of the instrument is elsewhere ascribed to Phrygian Hyagnis, father of Marsyas (Athen. 624b citing Aristoxenus, [Plut.] *Mus.* 1132f., 1133d–f, *Marm. Par.* A 10, Apul. *Florid.* 1.3, cf. Huchzermeyer 1931:14, fn. 57, Leclercq-Neveu 1989, Maniates 2000 on Marsyas). But according to the version *vulgata* (cf. e.g. [Apollod.] 1.24, Ov. *F.* 6.697–706+), which, as shown by Wilson (1999), ultimately reflects an Athenian tradition, the *aulos* had been invented/discovered by Athena. However, having seen her face deformed when playing it, the goddess threw it away and the instrument accidentally came into the possession of Marsyas, cf. Aristot. *Pol.* 1341b, Tel. 805–806 (on which cf. LeVen 2014:109–110), Melan. 758+, D.S. 5.49.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 165, Plut. *De cohib. ir.* 456b, quoting Trag. adesp. 11 381; on Athena playing the *aulos* or associated with Marsyas cf. *LIMC* s.v. Athena 617–623; on the sculptural group ‘Athena and Marsyas’ (Paus. 1.24.1, Pli. *HN* XXXIV 57) cf. Daltrop 1980. Chuvin 1995 argues that the story concerning the Phrygian origin of the *aulos* and Athena’s rejection of the instrument is glossed over by Pindar, to reaffirm the dignity of the αὐλητικὴ τέχνη. Vernant (1995) proposes that Pindar is focusing on a different moment of the story, which precedes the rejection.

18 Παλλὰς: the form was synchronically connected to πάλλας ‘young’ (e.g. cf. Ael. Dion. π 8, see also Beekes EDG s.v. παλλὰς) or to the verb πάλλω ‘to brandish’ (Pl. *Crat.* 406d–407a), cf. IE *pelh₁-/*p₁lh₁- ‘to brandish, wave’ (found in Gk. πέλεμος, Ved. *pṛtanā*- ‘fight’, ‘enemy army’, Lat. *populus*, Umbr. *puplum*). However, Πάλλᾱς (masc., a Titan, cf. HH 4.101+) may reflect a labiovelar, as suggested by Myc. *qa-ra₂* /*K^wallānt-s*/ (PY An 192.16+, cf. García Ramón 2021b).

tion of the instrument by the goddess. Our text and further sources do not support these theories: as several commentators proposed (Farnell 1932:234, Bowra 1961:113–114 and 285, Frontisi-Ducroux 1994, Papadopoulou–Pirenne-Delforge 2001), the myth of *Pythian Twelve* is best framed within Boeotian traditions on the αὐλητική τέχνη. As Spinedi (2018: XXVII) shows, not only does a fragment of Corinna (668, in [Plut.] *Mus.* 1136b) mention that Athena taught Apollo how to play the *aulos*,¹⁹ but we also know that the αὐλητική τέχνη was important to Boeotia and Boeotians: Boeotian families handed down the τέχνη of making and playing the *aulos* for generations (Roesch 1989); the art of the *aulos* was part of the Boeotian *paideia* (Plut. *Pelop.* 19, Athen. 184d) and Theban *auletai* were Panhellenic celebrities (cf. the parody of Aristoph. *Pax* 950–955, *Av.* 858, cf. also *Acharn.* 15–16, 865–866 for the *aulos* as a typical ‘Boeotian accessory’). Pindar was himself an *aulos*-player and teacher (*Suid.* s.v. Πίνδαρος, Cor. 695a, *Vita Ambr.*): a pupil of Skopelinos of Thebes, he later taught Olympichos the same art (Σ *P.* 3.137b Dr.).

In my view, several elements may have conditioned the choice of the myth: above all, the ode’s occasion, as Midas probably won by performing the *tune of many heads*, and its performance context, the Gorgon iconography being popular in Sicily (Akhunova 2020:14, 18–19, Belson 1981). In any case, Pindar might have relied upon a Boeotian tradition according to which Athena was a model for *aulos*-performers, i.e. Midas (Martin 2003:163) and the poet himself (Spinedi 2016). Whatever synchronic factors played a role in Pindar’s ‘assembling’ of the myth, I argue that Pindar exploited *traditional* building blocks on the level of themes, phraseology, and structure (cf. chapters 9–10).

The invention of wind instruments is often connected with lamentation and death in both IE and non-IE traditions. In this context, I would like to bring to light a less known typological parallel of the story, drawn from the Celtic world. The Irish saga *Cath Maige Tuired* ascribes the invention of the “whistle for signalling at night” to Bríg, a figure associated with the figure of the Celtic goddess Birgit, who is also identified with Lat. *Minerua* (so Olmsted 1994:163). Significantly, the whistle reproduces Bríg’s weeping, cf.

19 The date of Corinna’s production is debated: Lobel 1930, West 1970, 1990, Clayman 1993 defend a 3rd c. date; on the contrary, Coppola 1931 and Davies 1988 support the Archaic date suggested by ancient sources. Spinedi 2023 suggests that the mythological traditions mentioned by Corinna fit best within a programmatic agenda of the Late Archaic-Early Classical Age Boeotia. Given the uncertainty that surrounds this matter, Corinna’s fragment cannot be invoked *alone* as an authority for the existence of a tradition about ‘Athena discoverer of the *aulos*’ attested in Boeotia during the Archaic Age. Nevertheless, it reflects the existence of a difference between the Athenian and the Boeotian traditions on Athena and the *aulos*.

Cath Maige Tuired 125

Immesoí didiu Rúadán ier tabairt in gaí dó, & geogoin

555] *Goibninn. Tíscais-side an gaí as & fochaird for Rúadán co lluid trít; &*

556] *co n-érbailt ar bélaib a athar a n-oirecht na Fomore. Tic Bríc & cáines*

557] *a mac. Éghis ar tós, goilis fo deog. Conud and sin roclos gol & égem*

558] *ar tós a n-Érinn. (Is sí didiu an Prích-sin roairich feit do caismeirt a n-oidci.)*

But after the spear had been given to him, Rúadán turned and wounded Goibniu. He pulled out the spear and hurled it at Rúadán so that it went through him; and he died in his father's presence in the Fomorian assembly. Bríg came and keened for her son. At first she shrieked, in the end she wept. Then for the first time weeping and shrieking were heard in Ireland. (Now she is the Bríg who invented a whistle for signalling at night.)

TRANSL. GRAY 1982

7 ἐφεύρε ‘invented’. In other Pindaric passages, (ἐφ/ἐξ)εὐρίσκω²⁰ applies to the invention of a new type of composition/art/musical instrument (cf. Gentili 1971; Bernardini 2006⁴:673 proposes the meaning “inventare *ex novo*”, also in connection with *P.* 4.262), cf. *O.* 3.4 νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον, *P.* 1.60 ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον (cf. also Stes. 173.2), *Pi.* fr. 125 τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ’ ὁ λῆσβιος εἶδεν | πρῶτος, fr. 122.14 τοιάνδε μελίφρονος ἀρχάν | εὐρόμενον σκολίου.

In the choral lyric, the theme of poetic invention is developed through a palette of poetic images. The ‘poetic inspiration’ is materialized as a physical place, cf. the expression ‘to find the doors/way of the song/words’ (*O.* 1.110, *N.* 6.54, *Ba.* fr. 5.3–4; on the image of the ‘way’ cf. Becker 1937:68–85, Steiner 1986:76–86). In connection with the same theme, Pindar documents the first instance of the compound εὐρησιεπής ‘word-finder’ (*O.* 9.80, cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 447), matching Féπη ... εἶρε (Alcm. 39.1, cf. Massetti 2019:56–59). The compound partially matches other IE collocations and epithets, namely: Ved. *vacovid-* ‘word-finder’ (RV 1.91.11b+, *vácas-* : ἔπος, [^{*}uek^u-e/os-]), and the *iuncturae* [*vácas*-_{acc.}-ved] ‘find the word(s)’ (RV 8.19.12d), [*vác*-_{acc.}-ved] ‘to find the speech’ (RV 1.92.9), [*dhī-/manīṣā-/arká*-_{acc.}-ved] ‘to find a poetic vision, poetic thought/a chant’ (RV 3.57.1a+); OE *word* ... *fand* ‘found the words’ (*Beow.* 870).

20 (ἐφ/ἐξ)εὐρίσκω: derivative of IE ^{*}ureh₁- ‘to find’, cf. LIV² 698, IEW 1160.

7 θρασειᾶν <Γοργόνων> “of the fierce Gorgons”.²¹ Gk. θρασύς means both ‘bold’ and ‘fierce/savage’ (cf. Slater 1969 s.v.).²² Γοργόνων (cf. Σ P. 12.12ab Dr.) is omitted by the mss. and was supplied by Triclinius. Lasso de la Vega 1986–1987:367–368 proposes a possible integration παρθένων, which, according to him, would have been lost for haplography. In contradiction of this assumption, there is no reason to imagine that Pindar could not have preserved a gen.pl. Γοργόνων: fr. 70a.5 (= *Dith.* 1.5) preserves πατέρα Γοργον[, which could be gen.pl. or sg. ‘father of the Gorgon[s]’ (cf. Lavecchia 2000:103 *contra* van der Weiden 1991:40, 42, who argues in favour of πατέρα γοργόν, identified with Acrisius). An integration <παρθένων> would create a repetition with παρθενίους (9).

According to Hesiod, the Gorgons are the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto who live beyond the Ocean (i.e. in the extreme West). Other sources, however, propose alternative genealogies and/or different mytho-geographical locations (cf. chapter 9, section 1.1–3). The myth of Perseus and the Gorgon is also found in P. 10, where Pindar mentions only Athena as Perseus’ helper and guide (P. 10.45; on Athena’s role cf. Suárez de la Torre 2016). Differently, fr. 70d.37–39 (= *Dith.* 4.37–39) (cf. Phillips 2016:266–268), Pher. 43–44 and [Apollod.] 2.4 recall Hermes or Hermes and Athena as helper(s) of Perseus (cf. Pellizer 1987:46–49). Finally, according to a tradition, which is first attested in [Hes.] Sc. 216–227, the Nymphs bestow a series of gifts to Perseus to help him against the Gorgons.

Vernant (1991:117–118) and Segal (1998:86) argue that the Archaic image of the Gorgons reflects an association with the dreadful sounds they uttered, invoking [Hes.] Sc. 231–233 ἐπὶ δὲ χλωροῦ ἀδάμαντος || βαινουσέων ἰάχεσκε σάκος μεγάλῳ ὀρυμαγδῷ || ὀξέα καὶ λιγέως. I must stress, however, that this passage refers to the battle clash rather than to the vocal sounds the Gorgons produce. An association between the Gorgon(s) and music/loud sounds could exist even without

21 Γοργόνων: the name Γοργόνες (first occurring in pl. in Hes. *Th.* 274+) has no clear etymology. It was synchronically connected to the adj. γοργός ‘grim, fierce’ (of gaze, Aeschl. *Sept.* 537+). Frisk GEW s.v. γοργός, proposes OIr. *garg(g)* ‘raw, wild’ as a possible linguistic cognate of the term, while Leumann 1950:154–155 explains γοργός as a back-formation to γοργώπις (Aeschl. *Ag.* 302), γοργωψ (Eur. *El.* 1257), γοργωπός ([Aeschl.] *PV* 356). For Szidat (2013) Γοργώ is an adaptation of Car. ΓΕΡΤΑΣ ‘stone’. Beside the fact that ΓΕΡΤΑΣ probably means ‘white (stone)’ (cf. Bianconi 2022), it is unlikely that Car. ΓΕΡΤΑΣ would have been borrowed into Greek as γοργός. Segal (1998) connects Γοργώ to an allegedly IE root **garj-* (sic) ‘to emit a loud sound’. But the existence of such a root is doubtful: Skr. *garj* ‘to roar’ (epic), Oss. *qærzyn* ‘to groan’, OHG *krāhhon* ‘to make a sound’ and, possibly, Gk. forms in γοργ- point to a common ancestor **gerǵ-*, which displays a root structure (*DeRD-) incompatible with what we know about IE root shapes (cf. LIV² 5). Moreover, all the alleged derivatives of such a root may be explained as onomatopoeic parallel creations.

22 θρασειᾶν: *u*-adj. from IE **dʰers-* ‘to take courage’ (cf. LIV² 147, IEW 259; on other Caland-derivatives, such as θάρσος, θρασι- see de Lamberterie 1990:846–866, Rau 2009:119).

the etymological link between Γοργῶ and the notion of ‘uttering a loud sound’ Segal (1998) proposes. The iconography of the Gorgons, who are commonly represented with an open mouth, resembles that used to represent roaring lions, cf. Belson 1981, Vernant 1985, Hirschberger 2000, Gufler 2002, Cooper 2006, Díez de Velasco 2007, Rodríguez Blanco 2011. On the Near Eastern origin of the Gorgon’s iconography and other elements of Perseus’ saga cf. chapter 7, section 3.

8 οὔλιον θρήνον “deathly *thrēnos*”. The meaning of οὔλιος is debated. It may be interpreted as a derivative of IE **h₃elh₁-* ‘to perish’ (cf. LIV² 298, IEW 777) with an active meaning, i.e. ‘destructive, deadly’ (cf. Slater 1969 s.v. οὔλιος, Köhnken 1971:136, cf. O. 9.76, O. 13.23, Kaimio 1977:152, with whom I align) or with a passive meaning, i.e. “Todesschrei” (Schroeder 1922, Bernardini 2006⁴:673). Gerber 1986:248 (cf. Pavese 1991:88 and Steiner 2013) proposes a meaning ‘thick’* > ‘often-repeated’ and derives the form from IE **uel(H)-* ‘to turn’ (LIV² 675, IEW 1140–1142), adopting the explanation provided by McKenzie 1925 and Greppin 1976 for οὔλιον κεκλήγοντες ‘uttering thick screams’ (Il. 15.756, 759). Moreover, Gerber points out that in P. 12 οὔλιον θρήνον parallels ἐρικλάγκταν γόον (21). I disagree with Gerber’s interpretation, although I think that οὔλιον θρήνον is paralleled by ἐρικλάγκταν γόον. Indeed, Pi. οὔλιον θρήνον and ἐρικλάγκταν γόον might be interpreted as two renewed versions of the same Homeric collocation: ὄλοοιο ... γόοιο ‘dire lament’ (Il. 23.10). This Homeric parallel, however, speaks against Gerber’s proposal (Gk. οὔλιος as ‘often-repeated’). Since ἐρικλάγκταν means ‘high-screaming’, ‘loud’ (see below, 21), it belongs to the semantic sphere of ‘acoustic volume’ rather than to that of ‘thickness’.

The term θρήνος may also be translated as ‘dirge’, however I opt for *thrēnos*, since the *thrēnos*-song came to be canonized as a poetic genre in antiquity (officially, in the Hellenistic Age). Here, the term is opposed to γόος ‘lament’ (cf. 21) and denotes the poetic creation of Athena in opposition to the inarticulated vocalisations of the Gorgons.

For Hubbard (1985:95), Athena’s song combines Athena’s joy and the Gorgons’ sorrow, the musical loveliness (*‘malthakos-quality’*, in Hubbard’s terminology) and the harshness (*‘trakhus-quality’*) of death. Dolin 1965:86 proposes Athena’s joy derives from a sorrowful event in a similar way as Perseus’ achievement of fame happens as a consequence of the despair of his mother Danae. Although these two interpretations are fascinating, the text once does not provide any information about the feelings experienced by the Olympian goddess or the quality of the music she invented. Steiner (2013:182, invoking Eur. *Hel.* 177 and Aristoph. *Av.* 222 as parallels) proposes that Athena’s *thrēnos* “takes the form of an epinician melody”. In my view, this interpretation might receive ‘internal’ support (see below, 24). The *nomos* is said to be a λαοσόων μναστήρ

ἀγώνων ‘memento of the contests which stir people’. It thus entails a memorial dimension and a celebrative one (in this connection cf. also Nonnus’ interpretation, chapter 6, section 3).

8 (θρήνον) διαπλέξαισ’ Ἀθάνᾱ “Athena, braiding the (*thrēnos*)”. Just like in traditional hexametrical poetry, Pindar places the nom.sg. Παλλᾶς at the beginning of the verse (cf. 7, Παλλᾶς)²³ and the nom.sg. Ἀθάνᾱ (= Ἀθήνη) at the end of it (excp. *Il.* 5.260), cf. *P.* 10.45, *N.* 3.50 (we lack the context of fr. 52h.4 [*Pae.* 7b.4 = C2 Rutherford]). Παλλᾶς and Ἀθάνᾱ are separated by six words and create a strong hyperbaton, which encases the finite verb ἐφεύρε (7) and the ptc. διαπλέξαισ(α) (8). According to Race (2002), Pindar’s hyperbata often occur at the end of a strophe or a period and thus mark a transition to a different theme. Here, the hyperbaton occurs at the beginning of the mythological digression about Perseus and the Gorgons.

Clay (1992), followed by Segal (1995:12), Papadopoulou–Pirenne-Delforge (2001), Martin (2003) and Phillips (2013), argues that διαπλέκω means to ‘interweave’²⁴ in the light of *HH* 4.79–80, σάνδαλα ... διέπλεκε “interwove [*recte* wove] sandals” and *N.* 7.98–99 βίοτον ... διαπλέκοις “[that] you may interweave [*recte* weave] a life”. According to this interpretation, Athena would be interweaving Euryle’s lament and Perseus’ cry of victory (cf. ἄυσεν, 11, “[he] shouted in triumph”, as *per* Schadewaldt 1928:308, see below). As shown by Held 1998:380–386 (cf. also Gentili 1984:8), διαπλέκω means ‘to weave, i.e. to fashion, produce’ (also metaphorically, cf. the collocations in which the verb combines with βίος in *Hdt.*, *Alcm.*, *Pl.* and elsewhere, paralleling *N.* 7.99, on which see Cannatà Fera 2020:477) and refers to the combination of two different laments (Euryle’s and Sthenno’s ones). The use of διαπλέκω in the episode is probably echoed by Nonnus, who, in introducing a short digression about the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος (*D.* 40.224), states that “the Phrygian auletes braided/wove a male song” (cf. chapter 6, section 3).

2.1 Weaving Songs: A ‘Gendered Metaphor’?

As Palmisciano (2017:186–188) and Steiner (2013:175–183) point out, Athena transforms the primeval, unmusical Gorgon *goos* (‘lament’ or unarticulated lament, improvised by the kinswomen of the dead, here: the Gorgons) into a *thrēnos* (‘musical dirge’, performed by a professional musician, here: Athena). Such a representation could be interpreted as a poetic reflection of a real prac-

23 #Παλλᾶς Ἀθηναίη always occurs at the beginning of the verse (cf. also [Παλλᾶς–EPITHET] in *HH* 2.424). In Pindar, Παλλᾶς occurs at the verse-beginning here and in *O.* 13.66.

24 διαπλέκω: derivative of *IE* *plek- ‘to braid’, cf. *LIV*² 486, *IEW* 834–835.

tice: Feld (2012:264) suggests that “human experimentation with polyphony arose out of the cross-cultural phenomenon of collectively improvised wailing” (cf. also Weiss 2017:245). The first passages in which *goos* and *thrēnos* co-occur are preserved in Gk. traditional hexameter poetry. The two terms are associated with distinct groups of performers: in *Il.* 24.717–776, Hector’s *thrēnos* consists of a sung sequence executed by male *aoidoi* and by a series of *gooi*, uttered by women of the household; analogously, in *Od.* 24.58–62 the Muses perform a *thrēnos* for Achilles, while Thetis and her sister perform a *goos* (cf. Alexiou 2002², Tsagalis 2004, Perkell 2008, Karanika 2014).

We know of the existence of professional female musicians in Greece (Pl. *Leg.* 800e.1–3, Hsch. κ 824 LC), who accompanied the lamentation over the dead by playing the *aulos*. In this regard, the identification of singers as *female* is significant. Since ‘weaving’ and ‘singing’ are two recognizable activities of women in epics, “the metaphor of weaving and poetic creation seems [...] to fit particularly well the role of women who are fulfilling their duties towards a close relative who has died: to weave a (funerary) cloth and to weave a (funerary) song” (Bozzone 2016). Other IE traditions attest parallels for the binomial ‘lamenting-weaving’ in relation to women (Foley 2002:188–218 on South Slavic, Nevskaja 1993, Ivanov–Nevskaja 1990, Ivanov 1987 on Balto-Slavic). In connection with the wording of *P.* 12.8, I would like to note a possible comparandum from the Old English poem *Beowulf*:

Beow. 3150–3152
swylce giōmor-gyd [Ge]at[isc] mēowle
[Bīowulfe brægd b]unden-heorde
[so]ng sorg-cearig

So too a **death-dirge** a **[Ge]at[ish] woman** [**wove** for Beowulf], her hair
 [bound up], a sorrowful [so]ng.

TRANSL. BOZZONE 2016:14

Unfortunately, the collocation [*brægd-giōmor-gyd*_{acc.}] with *brægd* ‘move quickly, knit, weave a death-dirge’ cannot be recovered with certainty because the verb is an integration to the text (Chickering 2006²:240, cf. also Westphalen 1967, who dedicates an entire book to the textual problems of *Beow.* 3150–3155). *Beow.* 3150–3152 offers two further parallels to the Pindaric verse: οὔλιον θρήνον partially overlaps OE *giōmor-gyd* ‘death-dirge’ and the dirge is performed by a woman.

Old Indic *Rigveda* does not seem to preserve traces of weaving and lamenting as activities that are regularly joined together. However, in RV 1.61 the meta-

phor of ‘weaving a song’ is opposed to that of ‘fashioning a song’ in a gendered way: men fashion a song (IE **tetk-*, Ved. *takṣ*, Gk. τέκτων, cf. *P.* 3.113–114+) as if it were a chariot, while women weave it (IE **[H]eṃ-*, Ved. *vā*), cf. RV 1.61.4ab *stómaṃ sáṃ hinomi, ráthaṃ ná táṣṭeva* ‘I put together praise—like a carpenter a chariot’, RV 1.61.8 *íd u gnás cid devápatnīḥ*, [...] *arkám ahihátya ūvuh* ‘even the ladies, the Wives of the Gods, wove a chant at the serpent-smashing’. The gendered distribution witnessed in Vedic may be compared to the distribution of men’s and women’s material activities, which aim at immortalising the κλέα ἀνδρῶν in Greek traditional hexameter poetry. As Bozzzone (2016) points out, Helen’s story cloth in *Il.* 3.125–128 represents the battles of Trojans and Achaeans, i.e. the κλέα ἀνδρῶν of the *Iliad*. To this I would add that Helen’s cloth is a sort of ‘female’-version of the work executed by a smith, cf. *Il.* 18.509–540 (Hephaestus engraves a battle scene on Achilles’ shield).

Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve* reflects a different state of things: Athena is said to both ‘weave a *thrēnos*’ and ‘construct (τεύχω, 19, see below) a *melos* (song)’. However, such a twofold lexical choice could be conditioned by the fact that Athena masters both skills, cf. e.g. *Il.* 5.733–735, HH 5.12–15, Pi. fr. 52i.66 (*Pae.* 8.66 = B2 Rutherford).

2.2 Weaving Songs in Pindar and Indo-European

In Pindar, (δια)πλέκω applies to the poetic composition, cf. *O.* 6.86–87 πλέκων || ποικίλον ὕμνον (on which cf. Giannini 2009, Adorjányi 2014:273); *N.* 4.94 ῥήματα πλέκων; fr. 52c.12 (*Pae.* 3.12 = D3 Rutherford) αἰοδαῖς ἐν εὐπλεκέσσι; fr. 246a μελιρρόθων ... πλόκαμοι (cf. Vissicchio 1997:293–296). A variety of parallels may be identified for this metaphorical use of the verb, cf. Fanfani 2018. Le Feuvre (2015:324–326) reconstructs a collocation [μῦθος_{gen.pl.}–ἐπίπλοκος]* ‘(adj.) twisting, (subst.) weaver of words/stories’ in *Od.* 21.397. This collocation, preserved as *varia lectio*, would have been substituted in the tradition by ἐπίκλοπος ‘thieving’. The collocation [μῦθος_{gen.pl.}–ἐπίπλοκος]* would perfectly correspond to μυθοπλόκος ‘weaver of stories’ (*Sapph.* 188 V) and partially overlap ῥήματα πλέκων (*N.* 4.94) as well as αἰοιδά ... εὐπλεκής (fr. 52c.12 [*Pae.* 3.12 = D3 Rutherford]), cf. also Crit. 81 B 1.1–2, *carm. conv.* 917b.3, *Sapph.* 194A, Tel. 806.3–4).

At the same time, the use of (δια)πλέκω in connection with the poetic activity can be compared to that of other verbs belonging to the same semantic field, such as (ἐξ)υφαίνω ‘to weave’ and ῥάπτω ‘to sew’. In Pindar (ἐξ)υφαίνω combines with μέλος ‘chant, song’ (*N.* 4.44–45) and ἄνδημα ‘hair-band’ (fr. 179), a metaphoric designation for ‘hymn’.²⁵ Ὑφαίνω occurs in Bacchylides’ corpus with the

25 Cf. also Pi. *P.* 9.77–78 μίτραν ... ποικίλλω. Gk. ποικίλλω is used in a similar sense in *N.* 8.15, cf.

same value (Ba. 5.10, 19.8–9, fr. 1.4). The Pindaric collocation ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων (*N.* 2.2, cf. also *Lyr. adesp.* 995.1–2, *Sapph.* 195 V) partly corresponds to [ῥάπτω–ἀοιδῆ_{acc.}] (*Hes.* fr. 357.2), cf. the compound ῥαψωδός ‘rhapsode’ (cf. Tarditi 1968, Pavese 1974, Gentili 1995, Cannatà Fera 2020:297 with reference to alternative synchronic etymologies of Gk. ῥαψωδός). A reference to the act of spinning may underlie further Pindaric collocations, in which Gk. derivatives of IE **ten-* ‘to stretch’ (cf. LIV² 626–627, IEW 1065–1066) occur in connection with the creation of a poetic work. The use of συντανύω ‘stretch, bring together’ (Slater 1969 s.v. συντανύω) in *P.* 1.81 πείρατα συντανύσαις ‘bringing the threads together’ is explained by the scholion ad loc. as a weaving metaphor, cf. *Σ P.* 1.157d Dr. εἰ τὰ καίρια λέγεις τῶν πολλῶν τὰ πέρατα εἰς ἓν συντεμῶν καὶ συμπλέξας. A derivative of the same root occurs in the *iunctura* σχοινοτένειος ... ἀοιδά (fr. 70b.1 [= *Dith.* 2.1]).

The metaphor of ‘weaving songs/poetic words’ is lexicalized as ‘to sing’ in some IE languages. Several terms for ‘song, chant’ or ‘strophe’ can be traced back to IE roots meaning ‘to bind’ or ‘to weave’:

- (i) IE **sh₂e(i)-* ‘to tie, bind’ (cf. LIV² 544, IEW 891–892) underlies *sāman-* ‘song, chant’ (**sh₂o-men-*, cf. RV 10.130.2d *sāmāni cakrus tāsārāṇy otave* ‘they made the sāman-chants the shuttles for weaving’), Hitt. *išhamāi-* ‘song’ (**sh₂em-ōi-*), Gk. ὕμνος (**sh₂omno-*, as per Eichner 1979:205),²⁶ and οἶμη ‘song’ (Osthoff 1901:158 ff., cf. Nagy 2017a ad O.08.074), which, in the *Odyssey*, has the meaning ‘song-path’ because it was synchronically crossed with Gk. οἶμος ‘path’ (cf. *Od.* 8.480–481, 8.73–74, 22.348, cf. Becker 1937:68–70, Durante 1976:176).
- (ii) IE **webh-* ‘to weave’ (LIV² 658, IEW 1114, cf. Gk. ὑφαίνω, Ved. *vabh* ‘to tie, bind’) lies at the basis of OAv. *vaf* ‘to sing’, *vafu-* ‘utterance’. The use of (ἐξ)ὑφαίνω (*N.* 4.44–45, fr. 179, cf. Ba. 5.10, 19.8–9, fr. 1.4) and IE **webh-* ‘to weave’ in connection with the poetic activity is further paralleled in Old English and Old Irish, cf. Cyn. *El.* 1237 *wordcraeft waf* ‘I wove word-craft’; OIr. *Amr. Col. Ch.* 52 *fáig ferb fithir* ‘the teacher wove words’ (Campanile 1977:37–38, West 2007:37–38).
- (iii) Just like in Pindar (cf. *P.* 1.81, fr. 70b.1 [= *Dith.* 2.1]), in Vedic poetry derivatives of IE **ten-* (Ved. [*ví-*]*tan* ‘to stretch’, *tántu-* ‘thread’) are too employed to describe the poetic creative process (cf. West 2007:36–37).

Kaimio 1977:149, Jackson [Rova] 2002, Cannatà Fera 2020:489, referring to Maehler 1963:90 and Köhnken 1971:28, fn. 32.

26 Other etymologies for the ὕμνος have been put forth, cf. Vine 1999:575–576, who proposes **sṃonH-mo-* (cf. Lat. *sonāre*, IE **sṃenH-* ‘to intone’, **sṃenH₂-* in LIV² 611, IEW 1046–1047).

- (iv) Further semantic comparanda can be identified in Germanic and Latin: ON *mærd̥ ffolсноerða* “a song consisting of many threads” (*Ht.* 68.4) is vaguely reminiscent of εὐπλεκής ... ἀοιδά (fr. 52c.12 [*Pae.* 3.12 = D3 Rutherford]); the weaving-metaphor additionally underlies Lat. (*con*)*texere carmen* (Cic. *Cael.* 18+, with IE **tek-s-* cf. LIV² 619–620, IEW 1058, cf. Melchert 2018; see the phraseological dossier collected by Darmesteter 1878, who nevertheless wrongly traces Lat. *texere* back to **tetk-* ‘to fashion’).

From modern observation of weavers in India and Central Asia, Tuck 2006 suggests that the metaphor originates from the practice of weaving complex designs. Since complicated designs demand the memorization of a great amount of information, weavers used rhythmic chants to remember distinctive numeric sequences and reproduce specific patterns.

9 τὸν παρθενίους ὑπὸ τ’ ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς “that (was poured forth) from under the unapproachable snaky heads of the maidens”, lit. “that (was poured forth) from under the maidens’ heads and the unapproachable heads of the snakes”, cf. Σ *P.* 12.15a Dr. ὄντινα τὸν θρήνον ὑπὸ παρθενίους Γοργόνων κεφαλαῖς καὶ ὀφίων ἀπλησιάζουσιν κεφαλαῖς ἐπήκουσε.

From the phraseological standpoint, cf. ὀφιδέος ... Γοργόνος “of snaky Gorgon” (*O.* 13.63); for [παρθένιος²⁷–HEAD], cf. Pi. fr. 94b.10–12 ὑμνήσω στεφάνοισι θάλλοισα παρθένιον χάρα. According to Nonnus too, the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος is inspired to the Gorgons’ lament and the snakes’ hissing, cf. *D.* 24.37–38 and *D.* 40.229–233 (cf. chapter 6, sections 2–3). Steiner 2013:179 proposes to take ὑπό + dat. as “attendant circumstances, including ... (with reference to) musical accompaniment”. Such a value, however, is attested only for ὑπό + gen. in Pindar (cf. Slater 1969 s.v. ὑπό, gen. [c]). ‘Under’ might hint at the place from which the *thrēnos* is poured, uttered, i.e. the *mouth* of the Gorgons.

The epithet ἄπλητος²⁸ applies to the Gorgons in [Hes.] Sc. 230 Γοργόνες ἄπλητοι and to Typhon ‘of fifty heads’ in Pi. fr. 93.1–2 ἄπλατον ... Τυφῶνα πεντηκοντοκέφαλον. The collocation ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς, displaying the inherited term for ‘snake’ ὄφις,²⁹ and κεφαλὴ ‘head’ is also reminiscent of [Hes.] Sc. 161 ὀφίων κεφαλαί (of the hydra).

27 παρθενίους: cf. παρθένος, a term of opaque etymology for which Klingenschmitt 1974 proposes **pr-steno-* ‘whose breast are protruding’, cf. Delamarre 2008 *contra* Collinge 1970:77: **pr-th₂eno-*.

28 ἀπλάτοις: cf. ἄπλατος reflecting **η-plh₂-to-*, derived from IE **pelh₂-* ‘to approach’, LIV² 470–477, IEW 801–802.

29 ὀφίων, to IE **h₁og^uhi-*, cf. Katz 1998, Oettinger 2010a, 2010b.

10 τὸν αἶε λειβόμενον “she heard it being poured forth”. The subject of αἶε is Athena (Schlesinger 1968:277, Clay 1992:525, Bernardini 2006⁴), not Perseus, as suggested by Köhnken (1971:131, 1976:259) and Watkins (1995:40).

According to Gildersleeve (1885 *ad P.* 12.10), λειβόμενον is reminiscent of [δάκρυα–λείβω] ‘to pour forth tears’ (*Il.* 13.88+). The collocation [to POUR–θρήνος_{acc.}] is paralleled *ex Pindaro* and *ex Graeco ipso*, cf. *I.* 8.58 ἐπὶ θρήνόν τε πολύφραμον ἔχεαν (on the passage cf. Privitera 2001⁴:238), *HH* 19.18 θρήνον ἐπιπροχέουσ’[α]; cf. also [to POUR–LAMENT(γός)_{acc.}] in Aeschl. *Choe.* 448 χέουσα πολύδακρυον γόν. For [to POUR–HYMN/UTTERANCE_{acc.}], expressed by means of Gk. λείβω (*IE* 2. **leiH*, cf. *LIV*² 405–406, *IEW* 664–665) or χέω (*IE* **ǵʰeu*-, cf. *LIV*² 179, *IEW* 447–448) and derivatives, cf. *O.* 7.7, *P.* 5.100, *P.* 10.56, *Ba.* 5.15, *Ib.* S257a.27.3–4 ὕ[μνος ...] ... ἀπολείβεται “a hymn ... is poured forth” (suppl. West 1984:29),³⁰ Aeschl. *Suppl.* 631. Furthermore, Pindar applies the verb ‘to pour’ to the poet himself, cf. *I.* 1.4, fr. 123.10–11.

As pointed out by Kurke 1989, the collocation [to POUR (*IE* **ǵʰeu*-[*d*]-)–UTTERANCE_{acc.}] is expressed by means of the same verbal lexemes in Old Indic and Latin, cf. [to POUR(Ved. *hav*)–HYMN/PRAYER/PRAISE SONG_{acc.}(Ved. *mánman*-, *manīṣā*-, *gír*-)], Lat. *fundere preces* (Verg. *Aen.* 5.233+). Possible Hittite comparanda, namely instances of the collocation [*šunna*-/*šuhha*-/*ūtтар*_{acc.}] ‘to fill with words’, have been identified by Dardano 2018:47–64. The analysis of the corpus of Archaic Greek poetry allows us to recover a well-articulated system of images, which centre on the metaphoric overlap between ‘poetry’/‘songs’/‘verbal utterances’ and liquid substances (Nünlist 1998:178–205 and Manieri 2021 on the Greek passages; Massetti 2019:162–178 on possible *IE* comparanda). Since the poetic celebration of Panhellenic winners grants immortality to the laudandi, poetic words are often said to be like drinks of immortality: ‘the holy water of the Muses’ (*I.* 6.74, Simon. 577a, cf. Faraone 2002), ambrosia (*P.* 4.299, cf. Hes. *Th.* 69, *HH* 27.18, *Ba.* 19.2, Soph. *Ant.* 1134, Lyr. adesp. 936.15), nectar (*O.* 7.7).³¹ Words also originate from an immortal spring (*P.* 4.299, cf. *Ba.* 29.15), which is occasionally identified with the poet himself (Pi. fr. 94b.76). The same images are found in Old Indic (MBh. 12.279.1cd *amṛtasyeva vācasās* “of [your] speech like of *amṛta*” [‘drink of immortality’, **n-mṛto*-, cf. Gk. ἀμβροσία]), while the poet is compared to an ‘inexhaustible’

30 For *IE* parallels to this passage cf. Massetti forthc./b.

31 On the attestations and semantics of ‘nectar’ and ‘ambrosia’ in Archaic Greek texts cf. Roscher 1883, Kretschmer 1949, Verdenius 1949, Uría Varela 1992, Manco 2012. Rahmani 2008 compares the usage of nectar and ambrosia with that of therapeutic substances in Anatolian rituals. On the etymology of the terms cf. Thieme 1952, 1965, Lazzeroni 1988, Watkins 1995:391.

(*ákṣīyamāna-*, reflecting **ṇ-dʰgʷhi-* cf. Gk. ἄφθιτος) ‘well-spring’ (Ved. *útsa-* < **ud-so-*, cf. Gk. ὕδωρ ‘water’) in RV 3.26.9, cf. Geldner 1951–1957.³²

Elsewhere Pindar speaks of poetic *streams*, cf. N. 7.12 ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν, I. 7.19 ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν (cf. Il. 1.249, Hes. Th. 39–40, 83–84, 96–97 [= HH 25.4–5], HH 5.237). In turn, this metaphor finds a perfect parallel in Old Indic poetry, where ‘to flow, stream’ is expressed by means of a variety of lexemes (Ved. *arṣ*, *kṣar*, [*sám-*] *sec*, *sarj*), including Ved. *sraṇ* (IE **sreṇ-*, LIV² 588, IEW 1003), a linguistic cognate of Gk. ῥέω, ῥοή, and ῥυθμός ‘rhythm’ [**sru-dʰmó-*]. The same IE root **sreṇ-* underlies ON *straumr*, which is featured in kennings for ‘poetry’, cf. *hornstraum* *Hrímnis* ‘the horn-strom of Hrímnir’ (EVald Þórr 1^{III}), *granstrauma* *Grímnis* ‘lip-streams of Grímnir’ (Eil Þdr 3^{III}), *mína straumr glaumberg vinar Míms* ‘my streams of the joy-cliff of the friend of Mímr’ (VSt Erf 1^{III}).

10 δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ ‘with grievous toil’. The expression refers to the Gorgons’ lament;³³ *ex Graeco ipso* cf. Od. 5.493 δυσπονέος καμάτοιο ‘toilsome effort’, although πόνος and πένθος are not etymologically related.

Köhnken (1971:129–136, 1976:258–259, *contra* Radt 1974:117, Clay 1992:525) proposes a different punctuation of the verse: ἄϊε λειβόμενον δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ || Περσεύς, ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος (cf. also Köhnken 1978:92, accepted by Snell–Maehler 1980, but rejected by Snell–Maehler 1987). According to this interpretation, δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ refers to Perseus’ battle, not to the Gorgons’ lament, as suggested by Σ P. 12.18 Dr. Contrarily to Köhnken, Radt (1974:117) notes that πένθος always applies to the ‘grief for a dead’ (cf. N. 10.77, I. 7.37). But Köhnken (1976:259–260) provides Pindaric examples (fr. 52d.53 [*Pae.* 4.53 = D4 Rutherford], fr. 133.1) of πένθος meaning ‘pain’, ‘sorrow’ in a wider sense, cf. δυσπενθής ... δόλος (P. 11.18, on which see Finglass 2007:90). Against the idea that κάματος applies to ‘human effort/toil’, being a synonym of πόνος and μόχθος (Köhnken 1976:259–260) cf. Bernardini (2006⁴:674, cf. also Riaño Rofilanchas 2001: Span. *dolor*), who translates the term as It. *pena* in the light of Simon. 20.8+. Akhunova 2020:7 argues that δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ is in *apo koinou* and applies to both Perseus, who accomplishes a toilsome endeavour, and the Gorgons, who perform a deadly lament.

32 Cf. Jamison–Brereton 2014:498, who provide a different interpretation of the passage.

33 *δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ*: Gk. *δυσπενθής* is a possessive compound with FCM *δυσ*^o (= Ved. *duṣ*^o, Av. *duṣ*^o, reflecting the zero-grade of the IE *s*-stem **déyes-* ‘absence/lack’, cf. Schindler 1987, Stüber 2002:29), and a SCM to πένθος (*s*-stem from IE **kʷendʰ-*, according to LIV² 390, IEW 641, **bʰendʰ-* ‘to bind’ according to Beekes EDG s.v. *πάσχω*). Gk. κάματος is a derivative of **kemh₂-* ‘to become tired’ (cf. LIV² 323–324, IEW 557).

I find these explanations unlikely. I follow Snell–Maehler 1987 in rejecting Köhnken's punctuation. It is certainly true that *δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ* may in principle denote different kinds of pain. However, as I already anticipated (cf. 10), it is Athena, i.e. the one re-enacting the Gorgons' lament, who *hears* the sounds produced by the Gorgons, while they are mourning their sister.

11 *Περσεὺς ὁπότε* “when Perseus ...”. On the disposition of single elements at 11–12, cf. Sulzer 1961:56. On Perseus, Argive hero, son of Zeus and Danae (*Il.* 14.319–320+), cf. *LIMC* s.v. Perseus, Brommer 1973³:271–291, Pellizer 1987, Gantz 1996:300–311, Sansone di Campobianco 2003, Ogden 2008, 2013:93–99, Cursaru 2013, and Finglass (forthc.). A general account of Perseus' deeds is found in Pher. 43–44, [Apollod.] 2.4, A.R. 4.1513–1517. Pindar mentions Perseus' victory over the Gorgon(s) in *N.* 10.4, fr. 70a (= *Dith.* 1), fr. 70d.39–41 (*Dith.* 4.39–41), *P.* 10.44–48 (cf. Bieler 1931). In this poem, the episode is also connected with Perseus' visit to the Hyperboreans. On this aspect of the myth and the problematic sequence of the events in *P.* 10 cf. Palaiogeorgou 2002, van den Berge 2007, Bernardini 2006⁴:638–639, summarizing the previous hypotheses (Farnell 1932, Dugas 1956, Pennington Bolton 1962:61–62, Barkhuizen 1976:10, Köhnken 1971:177–178, and Kirkwood 1982).

11 *ἄνυσεν* “shouted (in triumph?)”. The verse is object of intense debate (cf. Sotiriou 2001). The form *ἄνυσεν* (aor. of *ἄνω* ‘to shout’) is preserved in all mss., except Φ, which has *ἄνυσεν*. At the same time, Σ *P.* 12.19b Dr. preserves two explanations: (1) *ἄνυσεν* = *ἄνυσεν* ‘he shouted’ (cf. *Il.* 20.48+), (2) *ἄνυσεν* = *ἄνυσεν* ‘he finished/killed’ (cf. *Od.* 24.71, *ἐξάνυω* in *Il.* 11.365). Boeckh 1811–1821 proposes a correction *ἄνυσσεν metri causa* (cf. *ἀνύσσεισθαι*, *Od.* 16.373 etc.), which Heyne 1824⁴, von Schroeder 1922, Farnell 1932, Turyn 1948, Bowra 1964 and Köhnken 1971 accept. Farnell stresses “the dramatic improbability that Perseus would shout to awaken the sisters when it was his cue to fly away”. To be sure, according to one tradition, Perseus finds Medusa and her sisters sleeping (cf. Aeschl. *TrGF* 262+) and beheads the Gorgon while she is not awake. However, iconographic sources dating to the 6th–5th BCE preserve different traditions: occasionally, Perseus beheads or attacks a running Gorgon (cf. e.g. the black-figure Attic olpe from Vulci, ca. 550 BCE, London, British Museum [= *LIMC* s.v. Perseus 113]). Analogously, it is certainly possible to distinguish between vases in which Perseus carries the head of sleeping Medusa in his *χίβις*, as the eyes of Medusa are closed (e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Perseus 161, a red-figure Attic kalpis, ca. 460 BCE, London, British Museum), in contrast to others, in which Medusa's head has open eyes (e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Perseus 163: a red-figure Attic lekythos, ca. 460–450 BCE, São Paulo, Museum of Art). Since Pindar does not provide extensive details on the

episode in our text, ‘dramatic improbability’ cannot count as a decisive argument to prefer ἄνυσεν over ἄυσεν in *Pythian Twelve*.

Wilamowitz (1922:146) is the first modern commentator to favour ἄυσεν. However, since ἄνω in Homer is often followed by direct speech, he proposes that ἄγων stands for ἄγειν and connects it to ἄϋσε. Schadewaldt (1928:50, fn. 1), followed by Burton (1962:29), Schlesinger (1968:277), and Papadopoulou–Pirenne-Delforge (2001), proposes that ἄυσεν applies to Perseus and means ‘to shout in triumph’. Clay (1992) concurs with the same interpretation, but makes the case that Perseus shouts when he petrifies the people of Seriphus. Segal (1995:15–16), followed by Steiner (2013:185), reads ἄυσεν, ‘he shouted’, and argues that Perseus shouts as he kills Medusa. Köhnken (1978:92–93, 1995:384–387) reads ἄυσεν [ἄϋσεν] but proposes a meaning ‘to call for help’ (cf. also Sotiriou 2001:124 “beten”), which is attested in Homer (see below, 11). Pavese (1991:81–82) proposes that this is the verb ἄνω/ἄνω ‘to dry’ (cf. Hdn. *Od.* 2.132 αὖω· ξηραίνω “*hauō*: I (make) dry”) from IE **saus-* ‘to dry’ (*recte* **h₂seus-* ‘to become dry’, cf. LIV² 285, IEW 880–881), suggesting a semantic shift ‘to dry (someone) out’ > ‘to kill’, as in It. *fare secco* ‘to make dry, i.e. to kill’, cf. Hsch. α 8331 LC αὖον ... νεκρόν “*auon*: ... dead”. Bernardini (2006⁴:675) reads ἄνυσεν, ‘terminated (: killed)’, arguing that this verb does not create any syntactical or metrical difficulties, since 3 reflects – – UU – UU – x – U – – – U x (cf. Gentili 2006 “Nota Metrica” *ad P.* 12). Snell–Maehler 1987, with whom I concur, propose a different metrical interpretation of the verse: –D–E.

I believe that the reading is ἄϋσεν ‘shouted/cried aloud’, which may refer to a particular moment of Perseus’ ambush. Perseus shouts as he attacks Medusa or after he has killed her (for ἄνω ‘to shout/cry’ without a direct object in battle scenes, cf. chapter 9, section 4.1).

11 τρίτον ... κασιγνητῶν μέρος “against the third part of the sisters”.³⁴ Köhnken (1978:92–93, 1995:384–387, *contra* Clay 1992), who interprets ἄϋσεν as ‘call for help’, proposes a translation “when ... Perseus had called upon [her: Athena] for help for the third time”, interpreting τρίτον as an adverb (cf. *Il.* 11.462–463). Beside the fact that one would expect (ἐς) τρίς as ‘for the third time’ (cf. *P.* 4.61+), ἄνω ‘to cry for help’ is usually constructed with the accusative of the person called upon (cf. Pavese 1991:76; as an example cf. *Il.* 11.461+), but here we lack such an accusative (namely: Ἀθάναν, παρθένον *vel sim.*). The scholia

34 τρίτον ... κασιγνητῶν μέρος: τρίτος reflects a *to*-adj. **tri-to-*, built on the word for ‘three’ (IE **trei-es-*); μέρος [**smer-o/es-*] is an *s*-stem from IE **smer-* ‘to get a share’ (cf. LIV² 570, IEW 970); κασιγνητός reflects **kṛnti-ḡnhi-to-* ‘born together’ with SCM from IE **ḡnhi-* ‘to generate’ (cf. LIV² 163–165, IEW 373–375).

identify Medusa as ‘the third part of [three] sisters/Gorgons’, cf. Σ *P.* 12.19a Dr., 15 Mo. This explanation is preferred by a variety of modern commentators and translators (Gildersleeve 1885, Bernardini 2006⁴:674–675), myself included. Nevertheless, which verb we should join this accusative case to is debated. More specifically, Pavese 1991:86 and Bernardini 2006⁴:674, who respectively read ἄνυσεν ‘he dried out’ (Pavese) and ἄνυσεν ‘he killed’ (Bernardini), highlight the parallel with *P.* 4.65 ὄγδοον ... μέρος Ἀρκεσίλας ‘the eighth part (i.e. generation) of Arcesilas’. In this expression, structured as [NUMBER_{ord.adj.}–μέρος], the ordinal adjective designates ‘X_{nr.ord.} in a row’. Moreover, according to Segal (1995:11), *P.* 12.11 is reminiscent of Hes. *Th.* 277–278 (ἦ μὲν ἔην θνητῇ, αἱ δ’ ἄθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήρω || αἱ δὲ μὴ παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης). Πι. τρίτον ... μέρος could thus apply to the ‘mortal Gorgon’, by singling her out. Although Pavese and Bernardini disagree on the form and the meaning of the verb of 11 (see above), they concur in making τρίτον ... μέρος the direct object of ἄνυσεν/ἄνυσεν ‘he dried out/terminated (= he killed) the third part of the sisters (i.e. Medusa)’. Gentili (2006: xxxvi–xxxvii), though ultimately supporting a reading ἄνυσεν ‘he killed’, suggests an alternative solution: if ἄνυσεν means ‘he shouted (in triumph)’, τρίτον ... μέρος could be interpreted as a relational accusative, i.e. “when Perseus shouted (in triumph) in relation to/for the third part of the sisters”. However, the relational accusative is not commonly found in these contexts in Pindar (cf. Clapp 1901, Hummel 1993:103–105). Such a construction of αὖω would thus be unparalleled.

I propose that the accusative designates the direction of the shout. Therefore, I take [αὖω–THIRD PART of the SISTERS] as ‘to shout towards/against somebody’. This construction is attested for verbs meaning ‘to shout/call’, like βοᾶω, a synonym of αὖω, in *P.* 6.36 βόασε παῖδα ὄν “he shouted to his son” (Race 1997a; on this passage cf. Fraenkel 1952 *ad* Aeschl. *Ag.* 48 who however proposes “he shouted:—My son!”), cf. also Eur. *Med.* 206–207 λιγυρὰ δ’ ἄχεα μογερά || βοᾷ τὸν ἐν λέχει προδόταν κακόνυμφον “the shrill accusations she utters against the husband who betrayed her bed” (transl. Kovacs 1994).

Schadewaldt 1928:20 and Burton 1962:29, followed by Segal (1995) and Race (1997a), take τρίτον κασιγνητῶν μέρος as the direct object of the ptc. ἄγων “when Perseus shouted [in triumph] bringing the third part of the sisters and (bearing) death to Seriphus”. In this case, ἄγων would be in *apo koinou* (cf. μοῖραν ἄγων, 12, see below) like the ptc. φέρων in *P.* 10.46–48, cf. καὶ ποικίλον κάρα || δρακόντων φόβαισιν ἤλυθε νασιώταις || λίθινον θάνατον φέρων (cf. also Eur. *TrGF* 124.5–6 Περσεύς [...] τὸ Γόργονος κάρα κομίζων). This explanation, however, seems incompatible with the identification ‘third part of the sisters = Medusa’. It is certainly true that Perseus kills the Gorgon, but he *only takes her head* to Seriphus, not her entire body. At least some of the ancient commentators seem to be aware of

this: Σ P. 12.21 Dr. specifies that ‘the third part of the Gorgons’ must be Medusa’s head, cf. τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν Γοργόνων· ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν. To my knowledge, this use (‘part of group = head of part of group’) is unparalleled in Pindar, in Greek, and elsewhere. Indeed, the equation [HEAD–of PERSON] = [PERSON] does not work in a biunivocal direction. That is, [HEAD–of a PERSON] can stand for [PERSON] (e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1); but [PERSON] does not automatically equate [HEAD–of a PERSON], cf. MoE *bring me his/her head* equates *kill him/her*, but *bring him/her to me* does not mean *bring me his head as a spoil*. Therefore, the interpretation ‘third part of the sisters = Medusa’s head’ seems forced to me.

12 εἰναλίᾳ Σερίφῳ “in maritime Seriphus”. Schroeder 1900 conjectures ἐννάλιος for all Pindaric instances of the adjective (cf. *O.* 9.99, *P.* 2.79, *P.* 4.27, *P.* 4.204, *P.* 11.40). Finglass 2007:111 (with reference to Braswell [1988 *ad P.* 4.14(d)]) and Irigoin 1952:23 points out that Pindar would have used the metrically lengthened εἰνάλιος (*Od.* 4.443+, cf. Chantraine 1948²:99–100). This Homeric compound is a derivative to a prepositional compound (Risch 1974²:189, Rousseau 2016:1–12) that can be recognized as the hypostasis of a collocation εἰν ἄλί (*Od.* 1.162+, on hypostatic compounds cf. Pinault [forthc.]).

12 λαοῖσι τε μοῖραν ἄγων “bringing doom to the people of Seriphus”. The petrification of Seriphus’ inhabitants is also described in fr. 70d.39–41 (= *Dith.* 4.39–41, as *per* Lavecchia’s [2000] edition and comment *ad loc.*). The term μοῖρα echoes μέρος, 11.³⁵ The co-occurrence of λαοῖσι and ἄγων, i.e. a derivative of IE **h₁ag-*, parallels λαοσσών ... ἄγωνων (24). *Ex Pindaro ipso* λαοῖσι τε μοῖραν ἄγων can be compared to *P.* 10.47–48, cf. ἤλυθε νασιώταις || λίθινον θάνατον φέρων. Specifically, θάνατον φέρων matches μοῖραν ἄγων, because θάνατος and μοῖρα commonly pair in the Homeric binomial θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα ‘death and the allotment of fate (= doom)’ (*Il.* 3.101+), cf. also the collocation [μοῖρα_{acc.} θάνατος_{gen.}–ἔχω/κιγχάνω/λαμβάνω] in Calli. 1.15, Mimn. 6.2, Tyrt. 7.2+, Sol. 20.4+, Theogn. 340+, Aeschl. *Pers.* 917, *Ag.* 1462, Eur. *Med.* 987+. Additionally, φέρω and ἄγω share some common usages, cf. Nagy 2015, 2017b.

Pavese (1991:89) suggests that the verse contains a word-play between λαός ‘people’ (cf. λαοῖσι on the possible connection with Hitt. *lahh-* cf. Gschnitzer 1977) and λᾶας ‘stone’ (on the etymology cf. Nikolaev 2010b), cf. Hes. fr. 234.3 and Pi. *O.* 9.46 (cf. also Epich. 122, Call. fr. 496, Σ *O.* 9.70d Dr. ἐκ δὲ λίθων ἐγένοντο βροτοί, λαοὶ δὲ καλέονται).

35 μοῖρα reflects **smor-ieh₂*, a derivative of IE **smer-* (see above, 11).

13 ἦτοι “indeed” is an emphatic particle, equating ἦ τοι. According to Denniston–Dover (1954:553–554), “τοι serves to bring home a truth of which the certainty is expressed by ἦ”. In most Pindaric instances ἦτοι introduces a sentence (in *O.* 12.13 it is preceded by a vocative), cf. Slater 1969 s.v. ἦτοι (a)–(b).

13 τό τε θεσπέσιον “monstrous/supernatural (progeny)”,³⁶ note the alliterative sequence ΗΤΟΙ ΤΟ ΤΕ ΘΕΣ-. Gk. θεσπέσιος ‘proclaimed by the gods’ is similarly structured as Gk. θέσφατος, applying to divine utterances in Pindar (*P.* 4.71, *I.* 8.31). A meaning ‘proclaimed by the god’, or even ‘divinely proclaimed’, is well suited to the majority of the Pindaric instances of θεσπέσιος, since it applies to spoken or chanted words, cf. *N.* 9.7 (ἀοιδά), *I.* 3/4.57 (ἐπέων), *I.* 6.44 (εὐχαίς), fr. 52g.1 [*Pae.* 7 = D7 Rutherford] (μαντευμάτων). However, the term also occurs as a poetically lexicalized word for ‘divine’, ‘wonderful’, ‘monstrous/superhuman’ (cf. Fraenkel 1952 *ad* Aeschl. *Ag.* 1154). In connection with 13, it is significant that θεσπέσιος applies to Typhon’s heads in Hes. *Th.* 827–828, 855–856.

13 Φόρκοι ἀμάρωσεν γένος “he weakened Phorcus’ race”. *Ex Graeco ipso* cf. Hes. *Op.* 284 τοῦ δέ τ’ ἀμαυροτέρη γενεῇ μετόπισθε λέλειπται.

According to Hes. *Th.* 270–274, the Gorgons are Phorcus’ daughters; conversely, in Eur. *Ion* 989 (cf. Theon *P. Oxy.* 2536, as *per* Calvani 1973) Medusa is the daughter of Earth (Γῆ). Pindar follows the genealogy found in Hesiod, cf. also fr. 70a.15–17 (= *Dith.* 1.15–17). According to the most common account of the mythological episode, Perseus also overcomes another group of Phorcus’ daughters, the Graeae, sisters of the Gorgons (Hes. *Th.* 270–274), on his way to Medusa. For this reason, it is debated which daughters of Phorcus are referred to at 13. This matter is further complicated by the interpretation of the verb ἀμάρωσεν. Σ *P.* 12.23 Dr. glosses it as ἡφάνισε “made disappear (: killed)” and identifies Φόρκοι(ο) γένος with the Gorgons (τάς Γοργόνας, cf. also Σ *P.* 12.24b Dr.). This interpretation is inconsistent with our context: Perseus only kills Medusa, while her sisters, who, according to Hesiod, are immortal, do not die. In *P.* 12, Pindar specifies that Euryale survives and performs a *goos* for her decapitated sister. Σ *P.* 12.24a, c, and d Dr. provide a different explanation and seem to confuse the Gorgons and the Graeae. Accordingly, Perseus decapitates Medusa and ‘blinds’ (ἐτύφλωσεν) ‘the other two’, supposedly, the Graeae (?), who shared one

36 θεσπέσιος (adj.) reflects **d^hh₃s-sk^{ue}-tjo-*, cf. Beekes EDG s.v. θεσπέσιος; on the term in Homer cf. LfE s.v. θεσπέσιος. Gk. θέσφατος ‘established by the gods’ reflects **d^hh₃s-b^hh₂-to-*, with a SCM from IE **b^heh₂-* ‘to clarify’, cf. LIV² 69, IEW 105–106. On Φόρκος and its etymology cf. chapter 9, section 1.3.

eye, cf., among other sources, Aeschl. *TrGF* 262, preserving a version of the story in which Perseus throws the eye of the Graeae in Lake Tritonis. Finally, Σ *P.* 12.24e Dr. identifies γένος as '(Phorcus)' daughter', i.e. Medusa (for this use cf. *P.* 3.41, in which γένος refers to Asclepius; Soph. *Ant.* 1117+).

Modern commentators are divided on the matter: for Pavese 1991:89, Segal 1995:11 and Bernardini 2006⁴:676, Pindar is referring to the Gorgons; according to Farnell 1932, Burton 1962:29, and Nikolaev 2014:123, Pindar is referring to both the Graeae and the Gorgons; according to Gildersleeve 1885 *ad P.* 12.13 and Christ 1896, Pindar is talking about the Graeae. Two objections can be raised to this latter hypothesis: (a) the content of 11–12 can be summarized as follows: Perseus killed Medusa and brought death to Seriphus; 13–16 are introduced by ἦτοι 'indeed' and seem to repeat, in varied form, the content of the preceding verses, (b) mythographic sources about the Graeae mention them as the ones impeding the way to the Gorgons (cf. Dolcetti 2004 on Pher. 43 with reference to alternative traditions about Perseus' encounter with the Graeae). In fact, all sources in our possession mention that Perseus meets the Graeae *before* reaching the Gorgons' abode, not after. At this point of Pindar's narration the hero is moving towards Seriphus and has already met the Gorgons.

The interpretation of ἀμαυρώω is crucial for clarifying this textual detail. The verb is a denominative, based on the adj. ἀμαυρός 'weak, faint, obscure' (of εἴδω-λον, *Od.* 4.84+, νεχύς, Sapph. 55.4 V) and thus means 'to make (smth./smbd.) ἀμαυρός (obscure, weak)'. The family of Gk. words to which ἀμαυρός and ἀμαυρώω belong has been convincingly etymologized by Nikolaev 2014: ἀμαυρός reflects **ṇ-meh₂u-r-o-*,³⁷ from the IE root **meh₂-* 'great, large' (cf., among others, Gk. ὠμωρος 'great, famous', Gmc. **mēra-* 'famous', ORuss. [*Vladi*]mēr). A meaning 'to weaken' perfectly suits the Pindaric passage and supports the identification of 'progeny of Phorcus' as 'the Gorgons' or even as 'the entire progeny of Phorcus, i.e. the Gorgons + the Graeae'. This explanation is also consistent with the most common value of γένος in Pindar (cf. Slater 1969 s.v. γένος) 'kin, people, descendants': by killing Medusa Perseus "weakened Phorcus' progeny", but he did not completely extinguish it.

14 λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτα θῆκε "and he made the feast repentful (lit. mournful) for Polydectes".³⁸ The term ἔρανος designates a banquet to which

37 ἀμαυρώω: **ṇ-meh₂u-r-o-* is a compound with a thematized adj. from an heteroklitikon **meh₂-u-/n-* as SCM, or **meh₂u-ro-*, a *ro*-adj. to a *u*-stem **moh₂u-/meh₂u-* as SCM (cf. the type ἔχυρός 'strong, secure' explained by Nussbaum 1998 as **seǵ^hu-ro-*).

38 λυγρόν: λυγρός is a derivative of IE *(s)*leug-* 'to swallow' (LIV² 567–568, IEW 964, cf. Kölligan 2005), and belongs etymologically with Lat. *lūgēre* 'to mourn' and TB *lakle* 'pain'.

every participant contributes with a share (cf. LfrE s.v. ἔρανος). For [to MAKE (τίθημι)–X_{acc.}–λυγρός_{acc.pred.}] cf. Eur. *Med.* 399 λυγρούς θήσω γάμους.

According to [Apollod.] 2.36 (cf. Tzet. Σ *Lyc.* 838) Polydectes asked Perseus to bring him Medusa's head, because this would be his nuptial gift to Hippodameia, daughter of Oenomaus. Preller–Robert 1921–1924⁴: II 233, fn. 3, propose that this second banquet (i.e. the ἔρανος of *P.* 12) is the continuation of the first one. As clarified by Theon's hypomnema (*P. Oxy.* 2536), Pindar is probably referring to a banquet, which took place *after* Perseus had collected the Gorgon's head (cf. also Σ *P.* 10.72a Dr.) and not, as suggested by Σ *P.* 12.25a Dr., to the *cena collaticia*, at which Polydectes had requested Medusa's head from Perseus (Bernardini 1971).

14–15 ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον δουλосύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος “[he made repentful] the constant bondage of his mother, and her bed forced by necessity”.³⁹ Gk. λέχος is a metonymic designation for ‘sexual union’, cf. *P.* 3.99, *P.* 4.51, *P.* 11.24. Polydectes had made Danae his concubine (AP III 2.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 63.5). Hence, their union is ἀναγκαῖον ‘forced by necessity’. The entire verse has a parallel in fr. 70d.15 (= *Dith.* 4.15) [φύτευε{ν} ματρί || [].αν λέχεά τ' ἀνα[γ]καῖα δολ[“was planting for the mother ... and the forced bed”, which refers to Perseus' and Danae's story.⁴⁰

16 εὐπαράου κράτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας “when he took out the head of strong-cheeked Medusa”.⁴¹ The adj. εὐπάραος (cf. εὐπάραος, on which see Forssman

ἔρανον: as explained by Weiss 1998:46, ἔρανος can be traced back to IE **h₁erh₂-* ‘to divide (and distribute)’ in the same way as δαῖς ‘banquet’ belongs together with δαίομαι ‘to divide (and distribute)’.

39 ἔμπεδον δουλосύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος: ἔμπεδος (ἐν, πέδον, from **pedo-* ‘place, ground’) means ‘(standing) on the ground, firm’, hence ‘constant’. The subst. δουλосύνᾱ reflects an abstract in -(ο)σύνη, i.e. a **tmonā*-formation (Vine 1999:576–578) on δούλος, a word of debated etymology (cf. Myc. *do-e-ro* /*do^helos*/, for which Neumann 1986 proposes the meaning ‘the one taken from home’ [?], on which cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. δούλος). Gk. λέχος reflects an *s*-stem from IE **leg^h-* ‘to lie down’ (cf. LIV² 398–399, IEW 658–659).

40 This fragment includes a reference to a violence against Danae, but the identity of Danae's rapist is debated. Since Σ *Il.* 14.319 (= Pi. fr. 284) reports that Pindar told the story of Danae being raped by her brother Proetus, some editors and commentators identify Proetus as Danae's rapist in fr. 70d.15 (= *Dith.* 4.15), e.g. Snell–Maehler (in their 1987 Pindar's edition, *ad* fr. 70d.15) and Hirschberger 2004:296. The claim that Danae's abuser in fr. 70d.15 (= *Dith.* 4.15) is Polydectes is supported, among others, by Lobel 1961:88, Karamanou 2006:125–126, and Kenens 2012:163, fn. 44, Lavecchia 2000:232, and Finglass (forthc.). I align with this second view.

41 κράτα: on the etymology κράς and κάρᾱ ‘head’ [**kerh₂-s-n-*], cf. Nussbaum 1986:195–218.

1966:152–153) is one of the two Pindaric compounds with SCM \circ παράος [on which cf. Peters 1980:295–298], cf. χαλκοπάραος ‘bronze-cheeked’ (*P.* 1.44, *N.* 7.71). It might in principle be compared to καλλιπάρηος ‘beautiful-cheeked’ (*Il.* 1.143+) because possessive compounds with a FCM $\epsilon\upsilon^\circ$ often overlap compounds with a FCM καλλι $^\circ$ (Massetti 2019:47–56, e.g. $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\prime$ Ἀφροδίτης, *Od.* 8.267+ : <καλλιστε[φά]νῳ Ἀφροδίτῃς>, *CEG* 454.3 (Nestor’s Cup)+ [Cassio 1994, Valerio 2017]). The parallel may be supported by Hes. *Th.* 270, in which καλλιπάρηος applies to the Graeae, cf. West 1966:244–245, who points out the difference between Hesiod’s and Pherecydes’ traditions about the Graeae.

Bernardini 2006⁴:677 proposes a meaning ‘strong-cheeked’ (It. *dalle forti guance*), stressing the absence of a ‘good-looking Medusa’ in the iconography contemporary to Pindar. A tradition about ‘beautiful Medusa’ is attested in a later age (cf. Attic 5th c. BCE red-figure pelike, Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, New York; Cic. *Verr.* IV 56.124, Ov. *Met.* 4.793, Serv. *Aen.* 6.289, *Myth. Vat.* I 130–131, II 112; on the genesis of the motif of the ‘beautiful’ Gorgon see Zolotnikova 2016, 2019). According to Σ *P.* 12.24b Dr., Medusa was not beautiful but believed to be good-looking; so, she challenged Athena, who punished the maiden’s ὕβρις. Moreover, Σ *P.* 12.35a Dr. glosses καρπάλιμος as ἰσχυρός, supporting Bernardini’s (2006⁴) claim. In favour of the proposed translation ‘strong-cheeked’, Bernardini 2006⁴:677 refers to the use of $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in *P.* 9.17. In this passage, the epithet applies to Cyrene who is fighting against a lion. Although I concur with Gentili’s and Bernardini’s (2006⁴) translation ‘strong-cheeked’ in *P.* 12.16, I do not consider the use of $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in *P.* 9.17 a convincing parallel. Nothing prevents us from imagining that Cyrene appears beautiful while she is fighting with a lion. Σ *P.* 9.31 Dr. glosses $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ as λευκόπηχυς ‘having white arms’, probably influenced by λευκώλενος ‘white-armed’, regularly applying to Hera and Persephone in traditional hexameter poetry, i.e. to two goddesses whose physical strength is not regularly emphasized. Akhunova 2020:12–13 makes the case that $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ refers to the “idea of the strain required [viz. to the Gorgons] to produce a sound”. This explanation, however, does not take into account that $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ applies to dead Medusa and not Euryale, who is said to utter the lament (20–21).

Heyne 1824 proposes a reading συλάσαις (cf. συλάω), while the mss. preserve συλήσαις (B), ptc. to συλέω, defended by Forssman (1966:157–158), συλήσας (G) or συλήσας (rell. codd.). Burton 1962:29–30, Pavese 1991:90, and Segal 1995:13, fn. 14 argue that the verb means ‘to behead’. Hence, Pindar would be referring to the decapitation of Medusa, which is first described in Hes. *Th.* 280 Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν. However, according to Slater (1969 s.v. συλάω), the verb means ‘to take out’ (cf. *Il.* 4.105+). This interpretation is supported by Theon’s commentary to the passage (*P. Oxy.* 2536, cf. Angeli Bernardini 1971):

Pindar is thus focusing on the moment in which Perseus takes Medusa's head out of the κίβισις and shows it to the inhabitants of Seriphus.

17 υἱὸς Δανάας 'Danae's son'. Cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 216 Δανάης τέκος, *P.* 10.45 Δανάας ... παῖς; Δαναΐδης in [Hes.] *Sc.* 229. For Danae in *P.* 12 as the 'anti-Clytemnaestra' (*P.* 11), cf. Phillips 2016:241.⁴²

17–18 τὸν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ φαμέν αὐτορύτου || ἔμμεναι 'who, it is said (lit. we say), was (born) from self-flowing gold'. The account concerning Danae's conception is preserved by several authors (*Il.* 14.319, Aeschl. *TrGF* 46–47a, Soph. *TrGF* 165–170, Eur. *TrGF* 316–330, Simon. 38, cf. [Apollod.] 2.34, D.S. 9.4, Ov. *Met.* 4.607 ff., Pli. *HN* 111 9.56, Tzet. *Σ Lyc.* 838). When Zeus fell in love with Danae, who had been walled in by her father Acrisius in an unreachable place, he took the shape of golden rain to lay with her. Pindar (*I.* 7.5–7) preserves a similar story about Alcmena. The verb ῥέω commonly describes Zeus' accomplishment in the Danae episode, cf. Pher. 43, Isocr. *Hel.* 59.5, Eur. *TrGF* 228a. On the 'golden rain' and its possible meanings cf. Radermacher 1922, Cantilena 1990 (on *O.* 7), Garelli 2009. Newman–Newman 1984:87, fn. 2 suggest that the reference to 'self-flowing gold' may be a "pun on the victor's famous namesake, who turned everything into gold", just like in Ov. *Met.* 11.116–117 *ille etiam liquidis palmas ubi laverat undis*, || *unda fluens palmis Danaen eludere posset*.

Pindar attests three compounds with FCM αὐτο- 'self': αὐτόρυτος, αὐτόματος 'spontaneous, of one's own accord' (with **om̥-to-*, *P.* 4.60, cf. also *Il.* 2.408+), αὐτόφυτος 'self-engendered' (**ob^huh₂-to-*, *P.* 3.47, Trag. adesp. 15+) and two compounds with SCM ὀρυτος (**[s]ru-to-*): αὐτόρυτος 'self-flowing' and ἀμφίρυτος 'flown around, i.e. surrounded by streams' (*I.* 1.8, fr. 350). Αὐτόρυτος can be compared to χρυσόρυτος 'gold-streaming' or 'flowing as gold', which applies to Perseus' birth in Soph. *Ant.* 950 and Eur. *TrGF* 228a (cf. von Preller–Robert 1921–1924⁴: II 230, fn. 4).

The 'inclusive' 1.pl. φαμέν contrasts with the 1.sg. αἰτέω. It is thus possible to recognize here an opposition between the performers ('I entreat', αἰτέω) and the Panhellenic public (φαμέν 'we say', i.e. 'it is said'), who is familiar with the myth of Perseus' birth.

42 υἱὸς Δανάας: the term for 'son' reflects a secondary thematic stem to **suH-ju-* (from IE **seuH-* 'to give birth', cf. LIV² 538, IEW 913–914, cf. also García Ramón [forthc.]). The name Danae is connected with that of Danaus (and Danaoi). The etymology of this MN is debated: Kretschmer 1935:15 proposes a tie with **deh₂-/*dh₂-*, underlying several river names (Danube, Tanais etc.), whereas Latacz 2001:150–165 (cf. also Oreshko 2018) suggests a possible borrowing from Egypt. *Danaja* (name of a country in Egypt. inscr. 1390–1352 BCE).

18–19 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων φίλον ἄνδρα πόνων || ἐρρύσατο “but when she had rescued (her) beloved man from those troubles”, with ἐπεὶ meaning “when, after” (*pace* Köhnken 1976:263, fn. 37). For ἐκ ... πόνων ἐρρύσατο cf. Alc. 350.4 εὐρύσαο δ’ ἐκ πόνων; for ἄνδρα ἐρρύσατο cf. *Od.* 5.484 ἄνδρας ἐρυσθαι. The collocation φίλος ἀνὴρ is attested in hexam. (*Il.* 14.504+) and Pindar (*P.* 4.1, *P.* 5.123, *P.* 9.64, *N.* 7.62, *N.* 8.42, *I.* 6.18).

19 παρθένος αὐλῶν τεύχε πάμφωνον μέλος “the maiden built a melody with all the voices of the pipes”. Παρθένος ‘virgin/maiden’ is a common designation of Athena (cf. also *O.* 13.71), who, together with Hestia and Artemis, is one of the three Olympian virgin goddesses (cf. *HH* 5.7–30).

Gk. τεύχω ‘to make’ is a derivative of the IE root **dʰeugʰ-* (“treffen” cf. LIV² 148–149, IEW 271, underlying both Gk. τεύχω and τυγχάνω), from which, among other terms, also OIr. *dúan* ‘poem’ [**dʰ(e)ugʰnā-*] is derived (Watkins 1976). The verb τεύχω is constructed with a direct object meaning ‘song/hymn/voice’ in several passages of Gk. archaic poetry, cf. *P.* 1.4 (ἀμβολάς) and, *ex Graeco ipso*, *Od.* 10.118 (βοή), *Od.* 24.198 (ἀοιδή), Aeschl. *Sept.* 835 (μέλος), *Ion* 1.5 (ἐλγεῖον). Moreover, the compound μελισσότευκτος ‘made/constructed by the bees’ refers to the poet’s song in fr. 152, while μελιτευχής ‘made of honey’ applies to the spring from which songs flow in Ba. 29.14. The latter compound partially matches Ved. *madhudúgha-* ‘milking out honey’ (RV 6.70.5b) and *madhudoghá-* ‘id.’ (RV 7.101.1b) with SCMS *°dúgha-* and *°doghá-* reflecting *°dʰúgh-o-* and *°dʰouḡh-ó-*, and FCM *madhu-* ‘honey’ (: Gk. μέθυ), semantically overlapping Gk. μέλι ‘id.’ (as a recent reference, cf. Massetti 2019:3–4). The metaphor ‘to fashion a song/poem/celebration’ (ἔπος, κῶμος) is expressed in Pindar by means of a variety of lexemes for ‘to make/create/fashion’ (cf. also the set of metaphors in which the construction of a poem is compared to that of a chariot, Gk. ἄρμα [**Har-s(-)mḡ-*], the ‘object, whose different parts are joined together’, cf. Steiner 1986:52–65, Massetti 2019:192–194). In particular, τέκτων ‘fashioner’, a nominal derivative of IE **tetk-* ‘to fashion’ (cf. LIV² 638, IEW 1058–1059, cf. [ἔπος_{acc.sg.} – παρατεκταίνομαι] in *Od.* 14.131, [τέκτων–παρθένιον_{gen.pl.}] in *P.* Oxy. 2389, fr. 9.8–10 (maybe by Pindar, cf. Lobel 1957 and now Recchia 2017), [τέκτων–κῶμος_{gen.pl.}] in *Pi.* *N.* 3.4) combines with **Har-* ‘to join, arrange’ (IE 1.**h₂er-* in LIV² 269–270, IEW 55–58) in *P.* 3.113–114. The verb ἐναρμόζω applies to the semantic field of ‘sung celebration’ in *I.* 1.16 (ἐναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ “to arrange/fit him [: the winner] a hymn”), *O.* 3.5 (φωνᾶν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ), cf. also [ἀοιδή_{acc.sg.}–(συν)ἀραρίσκω] in *HH* 3.164 and [γάρυς_{acc.}–ἀραρίσκω] in Simon. 595.3–4. Both collocations have Old Indic and Iranian comparanda: *takṣ* occurs with an object [SONG/HYMN], which may be expressed through different lexemes, namely: *bráhma-* ‘prayer’ (RV 1.62.13b+), *dhi-* ‘poetic vision/poetic insight’ (RV 1.109.1d+), *mánman-* ‘poem’

(RV 2.19.8ab), *mántra*- ‘poem’ (RV 7.7.6b+), *stóma*- ‘praise’ (RV 5.2.11b+), *vácas*- ‘poetic word’ (RV 6.32.1d+), cf. YAv. *vacatašti*- ‘strophe’ (Y 58.8+) and [*taš-mqθra*-] (Y 29.7b), on which cf. Schmitt 1967:14, 297–298, Darmesteter 1878. OInd. [*sám-r* ‘to arrange together’-*laudandus*_{acc.}-*dhi-*_{instr.}] parallels the structure of ἐναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ (I. 1.16), cf. RV 3.11.2cd *hótāram ... dhiyá ... sám ṛṇvati* “(the chanters) bring together with their poetic insight the Hotar [= Agni]” (Jamison–Brereton 2014, modified by the author).

19 αὐλῶν ... πάμφωνον μέλος. Note the ‘pun-like’ tautometric position of μέρος (11) and μέλος (19).⁴³ The term αὐλός designates both the *aulos* and wind-instruments’ pipes, cf. αὐλοὶ πηκτίδος (IG IV.53, Aegina). The *aulos* consisted of two bored pipes, which were played simultaneously. Thus, the genitive αὐλῶν can be interpreted as a genitive of possession, cf. Gentili’s (2006⁴) translation “una melodia ... con tutte le voci dell’aulo”, with which I align, or as a genitive of relationship, cf. Race 1997a “a melody with every sound for pipes”. In two other Pindaric passages (O. 7.12, I. 5.27), πάμφωνος is connected with the *aulos* (on the topic cf. Kaimio 1977:148–149, Wilson 1999, Martin 2003), a musical instrument which Uhlig (2019:111) defines as “a tool made of voice”. Differently, πάμφωνος applies to ‘hymenaeus’ in P. 3.17 and to the χέλος in Men. *Leuk.* 6. According to Papadopoulou–Pirenne-Delforge 2001 (cf. also Barker 1984:57, Lasserre 1954:35) the *pamphōnon melos* could be produced through the partial obstruction of the holes or the control of the pressure exerted on the *aulos*’ reed. This hypothesis does not seem to find any support in the material evidence. Earlier types of *auloi*, such as the exemplars from Paestum (ca. 480 BCE) and Pydna (ca. 580 BCE), display two bored pipes of different length, in which fingerholes are shifted against each other only by a single hole (Hagel 2020:424). There was a margin of tuning at disposal of the player and the double-reed mechanism allowed a series of different effects (such as overblowing, pitch fluctuation, and vibrato, cf. Wysłucha–Hagel 2023:4). Given its vague semantic employment, here the adjective πάμφωνος may simply refer to a μέλος that exploits the full potential of the instrument.

43 αὐλῶν ... πάμφωνον μέλος: Gk. μέλος derives from IE **mel(H)*- ‘to be object of thought’ (Serangeli 2016). The etymology of μέλος suits the Pindaric usages of the word and Gk. cognate terms well, see, in particular O. 14.18, P. 4.15, P. 10.59. Cf. also the secondary root **meldh-* from **mel(H)-d^heh₁-* (Kölligan 2018:231–233), which has a reconstruction supported by the parallel with Pi. P. 10.58–59 θησέμεν ... μέλημα “we will make (him) object of thought”. Furthermore, μέλπω and μολπή may belong to a root displaying a *p*-enlargement, also attested in OIr. **molor* ‘I praise’ (Stokes 1901:190).

20 ὄφρα τὸν Εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων “so that she (might re-enact the lament) from the trembling (lit. rapid) jaws of Euryale”. Sulzer 1961:27 provides a visual description of the verse. Hes. *Th.* 276 is the earliest source in our possession mentioning the names of the three Gorgons: Sthenno, Euryale and Medusa. According to Held (1998:384), by singling out Euryale’s lamentation, Pindar is implying that the tune produced by Athena contains only two strains. Differently, I think that the focus on Euryale may be conditioned by the phonetic shape of Euryale’s name, since the sequences ΕΥΡ(Ρ)-/-ΕΥ-/ΕΡ-/ΡΥ- occur five times within five consecutive verses (see below, 22).

The adj. καρπάλιμος, of unknown etymology (according to Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. καρπάλιμος), regularly applies to the swiftness of feet in traditional hexameter poetry (*Il.* 16.342+, cf. LfrE s.v. καρπάλιμος) and later authors (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 957+). The Pindaric usage is unique. It might refer to the agitated movements of Euryale’s jaws and is thus freely translated here as *trembling*. For the image of the ‘gnashing jaws’ cf. *P.* 4.243, where the dragon’s jaws are described through λάβρος ‘furious’: δράκοντος ... λαβροτατᾶν γενύων, cf. also Eur. *HF* 253 λάβρον δράκοντος ... γένυν.⁴⁴

21 χριμφθέντα σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιτ’ ἐρικλάγκταν γόν “(so that) she might re-enact with instruments the loud (lit. high-screaming) lament that was extracted (from Euryale’s jaws)”. The passage emphasizes the acoustic dimension of Euryale’s lament. According to Vernant 1985 and Segal 1994, 1998, the association with loud sounds is a distinctive trait of the Gorgons.

For χριμφθέντα ... γόν cf. Aeschl. *Sept.* 84 χρίπτει βόαν. The verb χρίπτω (‘to near’ in Homer, cf. LfrE s.v. χρίπτω) is here constructed with ἐκ + gen. (cf. 20) and means ‘to force from’ (Slater 1969 s.v. χρίπτω), cf. Hsch. χ 743 ΗC χρί(μ)πτεσθαι ... ἐκβαλεῖν “throw out/extract from”. Akhunova 2020:10, instead, renders: “the lament brought up close to the swift jaws and [coming] out of them”, suggesting that this description hints at the “sensitive adjustments in pressure of the reed” that an aulete had to make while playing. This interpretation presupposes an overlap between Athena and Euryale. But the use of μιέομαι makes it unlikely that such an overlap exists (see below). As a

44 ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων: significantly, both καρπάλιμος and λάβρος may be etymologized as belonging to roots with a basic meaning ‘to take/seize’. As first proposed by Schrader (1890:473) καρπάλιμος may be based on IE **(s)kerp-* ‘to pluck’ (LIV² 559, IEW 944–945, cf. Gk. καρπός ‘fruit’, Lat. *carpō* ‘I seize’; on the -άλιμος formation cf. Arbenz 1933:28–29), while λάβρος may reflect a *ro*-formation from IE **sleh₂gʷ-* ‘to seize’ (LIV² 566, IEW 958, cf. Gk. λαμβάνω ‘I take’), cf. the semantic shift seen in Lat. *rapiō* ‘to seize’, *rapidus* ‘rushing’. The word for ‘jaw’ is inherited: Gk. γένυς reflects **genu-* (cf. Nikolaev 2010a:1–18).

parallel for σύν ἔντεσι instead of the ‘simple instrumental’ (ἔντεσι), Bernardini (2006⁴:679) proposes *P.* 4.39.

As stressed by Bernardini 2006⁴:679 (*contra* Köhnken 1976:95, fn. 9), Athena is the subject of μιμήσαι(ο). According to Burton 1962:26 μιμέομαι hints at the expressive possibilities of the *aulos*, while Schlesinger 1968:278 argues that the verb refers to the nature of the artistic creation. In my view, this claim is supported by further Greek poetic parallels.

As emphasized by Gentili (1971) and Palmisciano (2017:186–188, 2022:107–108), in Pindar μιμέομαι denotes the act of creating an artistic work (a musical or dance performance), by re-enacting a non-artistic model, such as a non-articulated sound or a non-choreographed movement,⁴⁵ cf. fr. 94b.13–15 σειρήνα δὲ κόμπον | αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωπίνων | μιμήσομ’ αἰοδαῖς ‘I shall re-enact in my songs, to the accompaniment of lotus pipes, (that) siren’s clash’; fr. 107a Πελασγὸν ἵππον ἢ κύνα || Ἀμυκλαίαν ἀγωνίῳ || ἐλελιζόμενος ποδὶ μίμειο καμπύλον μέλος διώκων ‘re-enact the Pelasgian horse or a dog from Amyclae as you shake with your foot in the contest and drive forward the curved song’ (on the καμπύλον μέλος cf. Franklin 2013:227–229). Below, I argue that an analogous idea underlies a non-Pindaric parallel, HH 3.161–164, which displays a number of similarities with *P.* 12.19–21:

HH 3.161–164

ὕμνον αἰέδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων.
πάντων δ’ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιστύν
μιμείσθ’ ἴσασιν· φαίη δὲ κεν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος
φθέγγεσθ’· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν αἰοιδή

As they sing the **humnos**, and they enchant all different kinds of humanity. **All human voices and loud sounds** they know how to **re-enact** [**mimeisthai**]. And each single person would say that his own voice was their voice. That is how their **beautiful song** has **each of its parts fitting together** [**sunarariskein**].

TRANSL. NAGY 2013:230, modified by the author

The similarities between *P.* 12.19–21 and HH 3.162–164 are remarkable, although the passages deal with different artistic genres. Both texts ultimately concern the creation and the nature of a piece of art, namely: a choral performance, in the case of the Delian maidens (on which cf. Nagy 2006, 2013), a musical piece

45 This aspect of μίμησις is criticized by Pl. *Leg.* 669de.

(the *nomos kephalān pollān*) in *Pythian Twelve*. Three common traits between the passages must be highlighted in this context:

- (i) the performance of the Delian maidens and that of Athena are both of *imitative nature*, more specifically,
- (ii) they figure as the re-enactment of a sound, which does not have a precise intonation (κρεμβαλιστύν in HH 3.162,⁴⁶ Euryale's ἐρικλάγκταν γόον in *P.* 12.21).
- (iii) the transition from 'sound'/'noise' or 'speech' to 'song/performance' (καλή ... ἀοιδή, HH 3.164; οὔλιον θρήνον, *P.* 12.8) happens through a process of *construction* (συνάρηρεν, HH 3.164, on which cf. Nagy 2006, οὔλιον θρήνον διαπλέξαισ[α], *P.* 12.8, τεύχε πάμφωνον μέλος, *P.* 12.19), which involves a great deal of skill (φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος || φθέγγεσθ' [ό-], HH 3.164; τέχνα, *P.* 12.6).

From a mere phraseological point of view, πάντων ἀνθρώπων φωνάς (HH 3.162) matches πάμφωνος; μιμείσθ' ἴσασιν (HH 3.163) matches μιμήσαιτ(ο) (*P.* 12.21) and the use of συναραρίσκω in connection with ἀοιδή (HH 3.164) is comparable to that of τεύχω in *P.* 12.19, since the metaphor 'song': 'fashioned object' may underlie both expressions (see above, 19). Finally, I would add, the Delian maidens perform a ὕμνος (HH 3.161), etymologically, 'a woven composition' (as *per* Eichner 1979:205), while Athena 'braids' (διαπλέξαισ[α], *P.* 12.8) a *thrēnos*. As Phillips 2013 points out, in the ode the theme of mimeticity could be regarded as multiplied: Athena creates the new *nomos* by imitating Euryale, Pindar imitates Athena and, in turn, *Pythian Twelve* may imitate the 'tune of many heads'.

21 ἐρικλάγκταν γόον "(the) loud (lit. high-screaming) lament". *Ex Graeco ipso* cf. Aeschl. *Pers.* 947 κλάγξω ... γόον. As Steiner 2013:179 points out, κλαγγή hints at the "animalistic quality of these sounds" since the term often denotes cries of birds and other animals. Significantly, in fr. 70b.18 (= *Dith.* 2.18) κλαγγή applies to the snakes of Athena's aegis. The compound ἐρικλάγκταν (*hapax eiremenon*) is glossed as μεγαλοκλάγκταν by Theon (*P. Oxy.* 2536). It exhibits a SCM °κλάγκτας*, which has an active meaning (on -τας formations cf. Leukart 1994). García Ramón (2011a) identifies phraseological and onomastic parallels for the Pindaric collocation, namely: HH 2.82 μέγαν γόον, the Myc. MN *E-ri-ko-wo* (PY An 656.2, Ep 212.2, Jn 845.7, 944, with a FCM *E-ri*° from IE **seri*° 'high' [loc.], cf.

46 V.I. βαμβαλιστύν 'babble' (as a recent reference cf. West 2003b). On κρεμβαλιστύν cf. Nagy 1990a:43, Peponi 2009, who shows that κρεμβαλιστύν "denotes the act of generating a sound through percussion devices", referring to Athen. 636c and a variety of iconographic sources.

Willi 1999), which may reflect */Erigowos/* and so partially match both [μέγα_{adv.} – βοάω] (*Il.* 17.334) and the epithet Ἐριβόας (“whose cry is high”, Dionysus in *Pi.* fr. 75.10). The entire Pindaric *iunctura* is also comparable to γόνον ὀξυβόαν (*Aeschl. Ag.* 57).

22 εὗρεν θεός· ἀλλά νιν εὐροῖσ’(α) “The goddess invented it, but invented (lit. inventing) it ...” Greengard 1980:24 highlights the chiasmic disposition of the members of the collocation [GODDESS–FINDS/INVENTS], namely: Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε (7) and εὗρεν θεός (22). On εὐρίσκω and the poetic invention see above, 7. Uhlig 2019:109 argues that “the iterative patterns of the ode mirror the mimetic tool at its center”. On the iteration of the verb with ptc. cf. Fehling 1969:146–148 (“Verkettung von Sätzen durch Partizip oder Nebensatz”). The quasi-alliterative repetition of the sequence ΕΥΡ- and ΕΡ- between 16 and 22 stands out, cf. αὐτοΠΥτου (17), ΕΡΡΥσατο (19), ΕΥΡΥάλας (20), ΕΡικλάγταν (21) ΕΥΡΕν, ΕΥΡοῖσα (22).

22 ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν “for mortal men to have”, cf. ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι (*Il.* 10.403+) and *O.* 1.54, *O.* 13.31. The collocation [MORTAL–MAN] occurs in Homer and elsewhere also as βροτὸς ἀνὴρ (cf. *Il.* 5.604+), a variation of which is attested in *P.* 5.3 βροτῆσιος ἀνὴρ.

23 ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον “and she called it the tune of many heads”. Gk. ὀνομάζω⁴⁷ means ‘to give a name’ in Pindar (Slater 1969 s.v. ὀνομάζω), unlike in Homer (cf. *LfrE* s.v. ὀνομάζω also ‘to call [smbd.] by name’).

Gk. νόμος is “a specific, nameable melody, or a composition in its melodic aspect, sung or played in a formal setting in which it was conventionally appropriate” (West 1992:216, cf. also Power 2010:215–224). In particular, the κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμος invented by Athena is commonly identified as the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. However, Phillips 2013, 2016 argues that the tune of many heads of *P.* 12 is the ‘Athena *nomos*’, proposing that the final line of each strophe mimics the Athena *nomos*’ modulation. The invention of the νόμος πολυκέφαλος was credited to Crates or Olympus (cf. *Pi.* fr. 157), who was also believed to have invented the *nomos Pythikos* (cf. *Pra.* 713, [*Plut.*] *Mus.* 113de).

The scholia give three different explanations for the name of the κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμος: (1) the *nomos* imitated the sound emitted by the numerous snakes’

47 ὠνύμασεν: denom. from **h*₁/*h*₃*néh*₃-*mē*- cf. Pinault 1982, with *υ*-vocalism [ὄνυμα, ὀνομάζω] for Cowgill’s Law, cf. Vine 1999:557–558.

νόμον: thematic *o*-grade derivative from IE **nem*- ‘to distribute’ (cf. LIV² 453, IEW 763).

heads (so Σ P. 12.39a Dr., cf. Perrot 2012:357–360), (2) fifty choreutes accompanied the *nomos* (so Σ P. 12.39b Dr.), (3) the *nomos* included several *prooimia* (so Σ P. 12.39c Dr.). On the basis of (3), Pöhlmann 2010–2011:44 suggests that the νόμος πολυκέφαλος included many episodes, named *prooimia* by Σ P. 12.39b Dr. As Bernardini (2006⁴:680) points out, Pindar's text suggests that the *nomos* re-enacted the snakes' hissing. Nonn. D. 40.229–231, which is inspired by P. 12, provides the same aetiological explanation (cf. chapter 6, section 3). Luisi (in Gentili–Luisi 1995:20) proposes that the νόμος πολυκέφαλος, performed on a double-piped *aulos*, consisted in the “virtuoso interweaving of arias passing from one reed of the *aulos* to another, or from one tetrachord to another” or in the “interweaving of arias in a sort of possible heterophony” (transl. from the Italian original by the author). Imagining that the *nomos* was that of such complexity appears consistent with its aetiology.

24 εὐκλέα λαοσσών μναστήρ ἄγωνων “a glory-making memento of the contests, which stir people”. As pointed out by Gentili 2006⁴: XXXVII, fn. 3, to the modern reader the entire Pindaric verse may recall the wording of *Od.* 22.210–211, where λαοσσός and μνηστήρ feature at a close distance, cf. οἰόμενος λαοσσόν ἔμμεν Ἀθήνην. || μνηστήρες δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὁμόκλειον ἐν μεγάροισι. However, a dependence between Pindar and the Homeric passage cannot be proved. The co-occurrence of λαοσσών and ἄγωνων creates a repetition with cognate terms λαοῖσι and ἄγων, at 12 (see above). Greengard 1980:47 stresses that “ἄγωνων is the critical word in this transition from the goddess Athene's flute to that of the victor Midas”.

As already touched upon (see above, 5), in Pindar Gk. εὐκλεής has a possessive (‘whose κλέος is good’) or a factitive value (‘making κλέος good’). Σ P. 12.42 Dr. glosses εὐκλεής as ἔνδοξος ‘famous’; but this does not necessarily speak in favour of a possessive meaning of εὐκλέα since ἔνδοξος recursively glosses εὐκλεής, cf. Σ O. 6.124b Dr. (on O. 6.76 and the role of Χάρις as ‘glory-maker’ through poetry cf. Adorjáni 2014:250). I believe that the compound has a factitive value in this context (cf. chapter 10, sections 3–4). Following Bernardini (2006⁴:680), who proposes that the adjective is in hypallage, Meusel (2020:304–310) reconstructs a collocation *[εὐκλεής–ἄγων] underlying 24 (cf. I. 3/4.1 εὐδόξοις ... ἀέθλοισι, Ba. 9.21 εὐδόξων ἄγωνων). This reconstruction matches the emendations Ahlwardt 1820 and Thiersch 1820 propose to the verse: εὐκλέων λαοσσόν. In turn, Meusel compares the Gk. reconstructed *iunctura* to Ved. [śrauvasá- —ājí-] (RV 7.98.4d), which would constitute an almost perfect match to the Pindaric collocation. While Gk. εὐκλεής may be transposed as [**h₁su-klémes-*], Ved. śrauvasá- reflects a thematic vṛddhi-derivative of śrávas-; Gk. ἄγων, Ved. ājí- are both derived to IE **h₁aǵ-* ‘to lead/drive’ (cf. LIV² 255–256, IEW 4–5).

The referent of the entire expression εὐκλέα ... μναστήρ ἄγωνων is identified with the *aulos* by Clay 1992:523, with the ἀϋλητική τέχνη by Köhnken 1976, and with the νόμος πολυκέφαλος by Bernardini 2006⁴:681. I concur with the latter hypothesis (cf. chapter 10).

24 εὐκλέα: The metrical interpretation of 24 is debated because of this word. The presence of εὐκλέα points to an anaclastic responsion, i.e. a responsion in which a choriamb equates an epitrite (cf. Schroeder 1922:503, Wilamowitz 1921:433–434), which is accepted by Gentili 2006⁴. Schmid's (1616) proposal to change εὐκλέα in εὐκλεᾶ, in order to keep the responsionality, is followed by the rest of modern editors (cf. Snell–Maehler 1987), while Maas [in Bowra 1930:503] defends the form εὐκλεᾶ, interpreting it as εὐκλέεα (comparing Ἀγασικλέει in P. Oxy. 659.50, cf. also Schröder's emendation εὐκλέεα with synizesis).

The acc.sg.masc. of compounds with SCM ending in **em-es-* commonly appears as -ἔᾶ in Pindar, cf. ἀγακλέα I. 1.34, εὐκλέα cf. O. 6.76, P. 8.62, P. 9.56, N. 5.15, N. 6.29, N. 6.46, fr. 52b.103 [Pae. 2 = D2 Rutherford], Ἡρακλέα O. 10.16, cf. also νηλέα P. 1.95 (reflecting **nāleues-* 'inescapable' or **nēleues-* 'pitiless'). In two cases, the final syllable is long (-ἔᾶ), but these accusatives are always placed at the end of the verse, cf. Ἰφικλέα# P. 9.88, ἀγακλέα# fr. 52d.12 (Pae. 4.12 = D4 Rutherford). The same treatment seems also to be analogically extended to the acc.sg.masc. of εὐερκής, cf. εὐερκέα# (fr. 52d.45 [Pae. 4.45 = D4 Rutherford]). This compound displays a SCM °ερκής (cf. ἔρκος [**serk-e/os-*]), which shows no trace of *μ*-loss and possible vowel contraction. The form εὐκλεᾶ would thus stand out as unparalleled.

In Bowra 1930:82, Maas proposes that εὐκλεᾶ is based on an acc.sg. -κλέεα* which contracts in -κλεᾶ, given the existence of the dat.sg. Ἀγασικλέει (fr. 94b.38). However, this hypothesis is unlikely. The acc.sg.masc. of an *s*-stem, regularly appears as -κλεα in Attic MNS with SCM °κλής, but as -εεα, -εη or -η in other dialects (Buck 1955:39–40, 90–91). Thus, one would need to assume that εὐκλεᾶ is an artificial form with hyperdoric colour. For this reason, εὐκλέᾶ is probably preferable here. Indeed, one may account for the outcome -ἔᾶ < -εεα < **em-es-η* in different ways: (a) through analogy to forms attested in Gk. hexameter poetry, and (b) through analogy to *s*-stem adjectives. Explanation (a) works for a form like νηλέα νόον (P. 1.95), which echoes νηλέα θυμόν (Il. 19.229). Phraseological analysis reveals that νόος and θυμός share some collocations *ex Graeco ipso*, cf. πυκινὸς νόος (Il. 15.461) and πυκινῶ ... θυμῶ (P. 4.73), and *ex Pindaro ipso*, cf. νόον ἰαίνει (P. 2.89) and θυμόν ἰαίνειν (O. 7.43).

For the acc.sg. εὐκλέᾶ, ἀγακλέᾶ both explanations (a) and (b) are possible:

- (a) Homer attests two acc.sg.masc. -ἔᾶ of compounds with SCM °κλής, namely: δυσκλέα 'in disrepute' and ἀκλέα 'without glory'. Chantraine

1948²:7, 74 notes that the Homeric vulgate preserves δυσκλέα Ἄργος (*Il.* 2.115 = *Il.* 9.22), ἀκλέα ἐκ μεγάρων (*Od.* 4.728) and proposes that this orthography may be explained as an “artifact of the written transmission” (Nussbaum 2018:269, fn. 7), which substituted °κλέα to °κλέε’. This view is contested by Nussbaum (2018:298), who explains δυσκλέᾱ, ἀκλέᾱ and νηλέᾱ as ‘Neo-Ionic’ forms resulting from hyphaeresis (namely: V₁V₁V₂ > V₁V₂: -εεᾱ > -εᾱ). At the same time, Nussbaum (2018:307) also points out that Hom. δυσκλέᾱ and ἀκλέᾱ are not metrically guaranteed, since they occur in hiatus and as a consequence the hyphaeresis is not guaranteed either. Since εὐκλεῆς ‘having or making good glory’ and ἀγακλεῆς ‘having great glory’ are antonyms of δυσκλεῆς and ἀκλεῆς, they may have an underlying Homeric model.

- (b) One might alternatively imagine that accusatives like εὐκλέᾱ and ἀγακλέᾱ are analogical to the regular uncontracted acc.sg.masc. of compounds with s-stems as SCMs, i.e. -έᾱ < *-eh-a < *-es-η, cf. e.g. μελαντειχέα *O.* 14.20 (μελαντειχῆς, τεῖχος), εὐτειχέα *N.* 7.46 (εὐτειχῆς, τεῖχος), εὐανθέα *P.* 2.62, *I.* 7.51 (εὐανθῆς, ἄνθος), λευκανθέα *N.* 9.23 (λευκανθῆς, ἄνθος), ἄλιερκέα *O.* 8.25, *I.* 1.9 (ἄλιερκῆς, ἔρκος) etc. The uncontracted forms are attested in almost all dialects, except Attic.

From this analysis it follows that, in principle, *P.* 12.24 may contain εὐκλέᾱ, i.e. the accusative form of εὐκλεῆς. In this case, the metrical irregularity might be explained in two different ways. The verse may contain an anaclastic response (see above). Alternatively, as argued by Bowra (1930:182) and mentioned by Gentili (2006⁴:317), the verse may exhibit a metrical lengthening of -ᾱ followed by λ- (λαοσσών is the next word), like the one seen in *Il.* 6.64 #οὔτα κατὰ λαπά-ρην, cf. West 1982:15–16; on the phenomenon of a short vowel which is metrically lengthened by a resonant or a semi-vowel in Pindar cf. Christ 1867:630–631, Maas 1913:307 [= 1914:19].

24 λαοσσών μναστήρ ἄγωνων The compound λαοσσών is built with the same lexical material as the collocation ἐπεσσεύοντο ... λαοί (*Il.* 2.86+),⁴⁸ with mid.intr. σεύομαι. Moreover, it partially matches Vedic collocations of the type [to SET IN MOTION (Ved. *cyān*)–MEN (Ved. *nár*-, *jána*-)/PEOPLE (Ved. *kṛṣṭi*-)], found in

48 λαοσσών μναστήρ ἄγωνων: λαοσσών (*Il.* 13.128+) displays a SCM based on IE **k₁ieṃ*- ‘to put in motion’, underlying Ved. *cyān* ‘to set in motion’, Av. *š(ii)auu*- ‘to undertake’ (as per García Ramón 1993, 1994:71, cf. also Costa 1987, *contra* LIV² 394–395 [cf. IEW 539], reconstructing **k₁ieṃ*- ‘to put oneself in motion’), cf. Gk. σέω, σοέω* ‘to put in motion’, from which the SCMs of δορυσσός ‘brandishing the spear’ ([Hes.] Sc. 54+) and ἵπποσός ‘inciting horses’ (*P.* 2.65+) are derived.

RV 10.50.4c, 1.37.12b, 7.19.1b. As Newman–Newman 1984:90 point out, Athena’s invention possesses a power that is the opposite of that of Medusa’s gaze: “the many-headed tune eventually became, not something that immobilized men, but rather something which courted the men, into action at the games”.

Gk. *μναστήρ* is a *nomen agentis* based on the IE root **mneh₂*- ‘to think to’ (cf. LIV² 447, IEW 726–727), which underlies both Gk. *μνάομαι* ‘to woo’ and *μυμνήσκω* ‘to remember’. In principle, the term might count here as ‘inviter’ (cf. *μνάομαι*) or ‘reminder’ (Race 1997a, cf. *μυμνήσκω* and Σ *I.* 2.1a Dr., hence my translation ‘memento’), *pace* Köhnken 1971:140, who proposes ‘proclaimer’ (“Künder”). *Ex Pindaro ipso* cf. *μνασιστέφανος* ‘reminding crowns, inviting to the victory’ (Slater 1969 s.v. *μνασιστέφανος*), which probably refers to ἀγών in fr. 19 and matches the collocation *μναστήρ στεφάνων* “reminder of crowns”, “inviter to crowns/(victory)” (Pi. fr. 10).

3 Transition (25–27)

The mention of the ‘tune of many heads’ concludes the mythological excursus. The new transition section occupies 25–27 and thus precedes the final part of the poem. At 25, with a participle clause referred to the *κεφαλῶν πολλῶν νόμος*, Pindar quickly shifts the focus from the occasion on which the *nomos* is executed (24) to the instrument on which the *nomos* is played (25), the *aulos*. Reference to single organologic components of the wind-instrument allows the poet to detach from the indistinct, blurred dimension of myth. At 26, once again by means of a relative clause, Pindar returns the ode back to earth, specifically to the Greek landscape of Orchomenos and the river Cephissus, on the banks of which the reeds used for the *aulos* thrive.

25 λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονάκων “(the tune) often passing through thin bronze and reeds”. For λεπτοῦ ... χαλκοῦ cf. λεπτότατος ... χαλκός “very thin bronze” (of a shield, *Il.* 20.275).

According to Wysłucha (2019:231 fn. 61, cf. also Σ *P.* 12.44a), the ‘thin bronze’ and the ‘reeds’ are a metonymy for the *aulos*. Differently, Papadopoulou–Pirenne-Delforge 2001 propose that the verse refers to the ‘bronze-coated’ *aulos*. After all, χαλκέος was integrated by Snell–Maehler in fr. 52c.94 (*Pae.* 3.94 = D3 Rutherford χαλκ[έ]οσ’ αὐλῶν ὁμφάν) on the basis of this very passage and the reference to the ‘bronze voice’ of the maidens of Delphi in fr. 52b.100 (*Pae.* 2.100 = D2 Rutherford χαλκέῃ ... αὐδῇ) may also hint at an *aulos* accompaniment. We know that all-metal *auloi* existed, but there is no actual archaeological evidence for them from ancient Greece. We should therefore imagine this

instrument from Pindar's age (beginning of 5th c. BCE) as similar to one from the 1st BCE–1st c. CE: the "Tibiae Gorga" (two separate pipes acquired at the beginning of the 20th c. by Evan Gorga, currently under restoration, but probably coeval of the *auloi* from Pompeii), which were almost entirely covered with a double layer of bronze foil;⁴⁹ the *tibia* held by Euterpe on the Pompeian fresco from the Inn of Sulpicii Monagine (Pompeii, inv. nr. 85182). Horace (*Ars* 202–204, on which cf. Brink 1971:262–266) too mentions a wind-instrument covered with brass or a metal-alloy (*tibia ... orichalco vincta*, 202, cf. Wysłucha 2022) as opposed to the simple, tender *tibia* (*tenuis simplexque*, 203, cf. Wysłucha 2018:231 on the passage), companion of the choir (*adspirare et adesse choris*, 204).

Alternatively, 25 might refer to the components of the *aulos*' upper part. In our text, the use of *δονάκων* stands out in opposition to the possible metrical equivalent *καλάμων*, which, in Pindar, commonly applies to the *aulos*' pipes (cf. *O.* 10.84, *N.* 5.38, fr. 52i.36 [*Pae.* 8.66 = B2 Rutherford], fr. 70.3). As Luisi (in Gentili–Luisi 1995:20–21) suggests, *δόναξ* may hint at a special type of reed, from which the *aulos*' mouthpiece was built (cf. Loscalzo 1989 on the Boeotian production). Indeed, the reed, called 'hymn-maker' (*ὑμνοποιός*) in Eur. *TrGF* 100 (quoted by Theon P. Oxy. 2536.29–30), not the pipes, is the primary producer of the *aulos*' sound. In early *auloi*, the mouthpiece probably consisted of two reeds, namely, "two trapezoidal 'blades' fastened together to form an opening", which were controlled by the lips (by compression and expansion) so as to produce different sound effects (Wysłucha–Hagel 2023:3–4). Further support to this hypothesis may come from a comparison with Nonnus of Panopolis. In *D.* 24.38, the invention of the *nomos polykephalos* is said be concomitant to that of the 'type of pipes, which has the same yoke' or 'are yoked together' (*ὁμοζυγέων τύπον ἀλῶν*); in *D.* 40.227, the Phrygian *auloi* on which the *nomos polykephalos* is performed are called *δίζυγες* 'having two yokes or a towfold yoke'. Nonnus' terminology can be connected to that employed by Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 4.11.1–9), who seems to apply *ζεύγη* to mouthpiece's parts in a general sense (in opposition to *γλωττίς*, denoting a single reed, cf. Wysłucha–Hagel 2023:30). So, in Nonnus, the compounds might refer to the fact that the many-headed *nomos* was performed on a double-reeded, double-piped *aulos* (as opposed to the *monocalamos*), cf. chapter 6, sections 2–3. As Nonnus' passage is likely to be based on Pindar's *Pythian Twelve*, we may reconstruct that, by Nonnus' time, our passage was interpreted as containing a reference to the *aulos*' mouthpiece.

49 <http://www.icr.beniculturali.it/pagina.cfm?usz=5&uid=67&rid=50&rim=159>
(last accessed: September 01, 2023).

A more remote option is that λεπτοῦ ... χαλκοῦ hints at the *syrinx*-mechanism, identified by Luisi (1995:26–27) as a bronze connecting-device or support that would have been added on the *aulos*' mouthpiece so to allow Midas to play the *aulos* τρόπῳ σύριγγος 'in the way of the *syrinx*' after the reed of his *aulos* had broken (Σ P. 12 *inscr.* Dr.). This hypothesis should be revised in the light of most updated archaeo-musicological analyses: as Hagel (2010–2011) shows, the *aulos*' *syrinx* designates a 'speaker hole', usually located in proximity to the *aulos*' mouthpiece or the highest fingerhole, aimed at enabling or facilitating overblowing, i.e. switching to a higher register (cf. Howard 1893:32–35). The *syrinx* allowed performers to produce shrill squeaking sounds, so that, by the middle of the 4th c. BCE,⁵⁰ *syringes* were regularly employed by the auletes who performed the *nomos Pythikos* at the Pythian games, since this re-enacted the sounds of Apollo's hissing enemy Python (cf. chapter 1, section 1). The *syrinx* was activated by "rotating rings with a hole that could be aligned with a hole in the core [scil. of the pipe], and sliders attached to rods, where the hole is covered by a moving plate" (Hagel 2010–2011:500). The rings seem to have been realized in metal on *auloi* of Roman age. Our information on *syringes* of the earlier *auloi* is scarcer. *Auloi* from the Classical Age feature the *syrinx*, but it might have been activated by removing a wax plug (Hagel 2010–2011:503). It is tantalizing to connect a *syrinx* mechanism, especially if we imagine it as a bronze ring, to the execution of the *nomos* performed by Midas. If this piece is identified with the *nomos kephalān pollān*, which, just like the *Pythikos*, re-enacted the Gorgons' serpents' hissing sounds (see above, 9, 21), using a *syrinx* might have helped the performer to re-enact the Gorgons' snakes. Against this hypothesis speak the archaeological evidence, namely, the *syringes* found in the Megara *auloi* (dated to the first half of the 3rd c. BCE, cf. Avgerinoú in Terzēs–Hagel 2022): these instruments offer the oldest (known) attested examples of *syringes*, which were activated by bronze rings. However, the rings were pushed away to uncover the speaker-hole. As a consequence they were not 'traversed by the sound' (διανισόμενον).

A further, maybe more likely, possibility is that the 'thin bronze' hints at metal reinforcing rings which are often found on the joints on bone *auloi*, or, maybe, to a bronze φορβεία, i.e. a band put round the lips of pipers to assist them

50 The provided date is connected with information concerning of Telephanes of Megara, cf. αὐτίκα Τηλεφάνης ὁ Μεγαρικὸς οὕτως ἐπολέμησεν ταῖς σύριγγιν ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοποιούς οὐδ' ἐπιθεῖναι πώποτε εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἀγῶνος μάλιστ' ἀπέστη (Aristox. *apud* [Plut.] *Mus.* 1138a), "at any rate, Telephanes of Megara fought so harshly against the *syringes* that he never even allowed the *aulos*-makers to add them to [his] *auloi*, but preferred to stay away from the Pythian games mainly for this reason".

regulating the sound (cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 582, Hsch. ε 5411 LC ἐπίχαλκον στόμα· τὸ τῶν ἀύλητῶν, διὰ τὴν φορβειάν, cf. Landels 1964:392, fn. 4). In this scenario, stating that the sound ‘often passes through the reeds and thin bronze’ would turn out to be a quite accurate description of the sound production. Pindar, who, as we know, had been trained as *auletes*, could have been aware of any of these details and have alluded to them in his poem.

The rare verb διανισόμενον, glossed as διαπορευόμενον by Σ *P.* 12.44b Dr., is an acc.masc.pr.ptc.mid. of the δια- prefixed verb νίσομαι ‘to come’ (cf. *O.* 3.10, *O.* 3.34, *N.* 5.37), which reflects a reduplicated pr. **ni-ns-e/o-* from the IE root **nes-* ‘to go home’ (see above, 3 νάεις). In all Pindaric instances, νίσομαι exhibits a long ī from ICL **-ins-* > **-īs-* (cf. all dialects, except Thessalic and Lesbian). Therefore, there is no reason to read διανισόμενον with V (Sandys 1937). For διανισόμενον ... θαμά cf. *N.* 5.37 θαμά νίsetai ‘often comes’. In both *P.* 12.25 and *N.* 5.37 the use of the adverb θαμά would stress the idea of a repeated action, which can be assumed to already be a semantic component of the reduplicated present. According to Spelman (2018:37, fn. 3) this is one of the verses in which Pindar “describes various sorts of poetry and poetic traditions as iterative, abiding presences in the world”. As stated above, I think that this verse may actually be connected to the *aulos*’ technique: in wind-instruments the air is breathed into the reeds and the pipes to emit the sound.

The reading θαμά is preserved by the majority of the mss. and by Theon’s hypomnema as a *varia lectio* besides θ’ ἅμα ‘(passes through thin bronze) together with (the reeds)’ (adopted by Gentili 2006⁴).

26 τοὶ παρὰ καλλίχορον ναίεισι πόλιν Χαρίτων “which dwell by the Graces’ city of beautiful dancing places”. The city in question is Orchomenos, cf. *O.* 14.1–4, where 2 (referring to the Charites) αἶτε ναίετε καλλίπωλον ἔδραν vaguely recalls *P.* 12.26 and *P.* 12.1–2 (see above, ἔδρα and ἔδος both derive from IE **sed-*). The compound καλλίχορος, matching a collocation [καλός–χόρος] (*Od.* 12.318+, cf. esp. HH 27.15 Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα), first occurs in hexam. (*Od.* 11.581+).

As Σ *P.* 12.44a, 45ab Dr. suggest (οἰκοῦσι ... φύονται), this is the verb ναίω ‘to inhabit’ (see above, 3), not νάω ‘to flow’, preserved by Theon (*P. Oxy.* 2536: νάοισι, judged as ‘improper’ [ἄκυρον] by Theon himself, cf. Maehler 1968, Treu 1974). The Charites are daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (*Hes. Th.* 907, [Apollod.] 1.13, Call. *Aet.* 6, Paus. 9.35.1, Hyg. *Fab. praef.*) or Helios and Aegle (*Ant.* 140, *apud* Paus. 9.35.5+), or Dionysus (*Anacr.* 38+). The cult of the Charites associated with three stones in Orchomenos was established by Eteocles, the son of river Cephisus (*Hes. fr.* 71, Σ *O.* 14 *inscr.* c Dr., Strabo 9.2.40, Paus. 9.35.1, 9.38.1), who had received them from the sky. In Orchomenos, the remains of a temple

in honour of the Charites have been identified cf. Amandry–Spyropoulos 1974. On the Charites in *O.* 14 cf. also Athanassaki 2003, Lomiento 2010–2011, Nieto Hernández 2017.

27 Καφισίδος ἐν τέμενει, “in the precinct of Caphisis”. Καφισίς is first attested in hexam. (*Il.* 5.709+) in connection with a lake (λίμνη). Here the name is identified with that of the river Cephissus’ nymph. The river Cephissus is a son of Ocean and Tethys (*Hyg. Fab.* 6). Gk. τέμενος denotes a sacred space, which is imagined as ‘cut-out for a god’ (on Gk. τέμενος, Lat. *templum* and common poetic usages cf. García Ramón 2008). The collocation [τέμενος–GOD_{gen./GOD_{adj.}] is often attested in the Pindaric corpus as a variation or substitution kenning for a PN, cf. Ποσειδάωνος ... τέμενος (*P.* 4.204) Ποσειδάιον ... τέμενος (: the Isthmus, *N.* 6.41), Κρονίου πὰρ τέμενει (: Olympia, *N.* 6.61), τέμενος Ἀρεος (: Syracuse, *P.* 2.2), πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα (: Libya, *P.* 4.56).⁵¹}

27 πιστοὶ χορευτῶν μάρτυρες “faithful witnesses of dancers”. For πιστοί ... μάρτυρες cf. *P.* 1.88. In fr. 70 Pindar states that the streams of the Boeotic river Melas nourish the “most musical reed” (τὸν ἀοιδότατον ... κάλαμον, cf. Loscalzo 1989). A variety of ancient sources (*Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 4.11.8, *Strabo* 9.2.8) confirm that the Pelecania, a region located in the Copais marsh, at the confluence of rivers Cephissus and Melas, was renowned for the production of *aulos* reeds (cf. Roesch 1989). As Bernardini (2006⁴:682) points out, Corinna (692.2) describes the Cephissus as εὐδενδρος ‘rich in plants/trees’ (cf. Spinedi 2018:133). Maslov 2015:219 notes: “The reeds used in constructing *auloi* are not merely present at the choral performances; they are, literally, the vocal supporters of the chorus. The immediate proximity of this image to the mention of the choreuts (the only occurrence of the word χορευτάς in Pindar) is also suggestive, as it invites us to think of the members of the chorus, by analogy, as a collective of *martures*”.

4 Gnōmai (28–32)

As Rutherford (2013:51) underlines, some “*epinikia* end with a narrower vision of limits: the hero has achieved the ultimate, and he should go no further, and neither should the song”. The end-lines of *P.* 12 can be juxtaposed to those of

51 Cf. also Ἀργεῖον ... τέμενος (*Pi. N.* 10.19) with the structure [τέμενος–CITY_{adj.}]. Differently, Τυνδ]αριδῶν ... || τεμέ]νει (supp. Lobel) in fr. 52s.2 (*Pae.* 18.2 = S7 Rutherford) may refer to an actual τέμενος of Castor and Polydeuces in Argos, as they were honoured with a theoxeny in the polis (*Pi. N.* 10.49).

other odes which end with *gnōmai* warning about the variability of fate, such as *O.* 7.94–95 (cf. *O.* 5.23–24, *P.* 7.20–22, *I.* 3/4.17–18).

The final section of our ode includes a series of three *gnōmai*, which, according to Boeke (2007:57) are structured in an opposite way to the myth (cf. “in the myth the movement is from hardship to the pleasures of music, but in the *gnōmai* the movement is in the opposite direction. Happiness is hard won, and life is uncertain”). More precisely, closing verses consist of two main clauses (28–29, 29–32) intercalated by a third *gnōmē* at 30, and expanded by a relative sentence at 31–32. The entire section is characterized by the use of a ‘chain’ of enjambments (ἄνευ καμάτου || οὐ φαίνεται, 28–29; τελευτάσει ... || δαίμων, 29–30; χρόνος || οὗτος, 30–31; on the enjambment in Pindar cf. Giannini 2008). The first *gnōmē* is formulated through a conditional sentence: its protasis, in which the verb ‘to be’ is unexpressed, occupies 28, while the verb of the apodosis is located at 29. The enjambment between the syntactic components of the apodosis clause, namely: the complement ἄνευ καμάτου ‘without toil/effort’ (28) and the main verb οὐ φαίνεται (29), gives prominence to the factor which conditions the achievement of happiness, i.e. ‘toil’, one of the main themes of the ode (cf. chapter 2, section 5).

The interpretation of the second *gnōmē* is debated. It begins at 29, but it is somehow suspended, being interrupted by the third *gnōmē*, which is formulated in parenthetic form at 30. The way we understand 29–32 is conditioned by the interpretation of ἦτοι at 29. Whether the particle is emphatic (‘truly’) or constructed with σήμερον (29) and taken as disjunctive (‘either today’), it is apparent that we lack something: continuation, if ἦτοι is emphatic; a second term for the correlation, if we concur with the disjunctive hypothesis. The *gnōmē* stops in anacoluthon and is continued by an adversative coordinating sentence (ἀλλ’ ἔσται χρόνος) after the parenthetic clause. By breaking the main *gnōmē*, the encased new clause lends drama to the passage. As noted by Race (1989:190) “one of the ways in which Pindar maintains an impromptu quality in his poetry is by appearing to react to his statements, as if he were hearing them—like a listener—for the first time”. In this case, one may argue, the parenthetic interruption, which coincidentally occupies a paroemiac sequence (UU–UU– – – x), resembles a gnomic comment expressed by a tragic chorus.

The continuation of the previous *gnōmē* at 30 starts with an adversative conjunction ἀλλά. Although ἀλλά follows a negative clause like elsewhere in Pindar (Slater 1969 s.v. ἀλλά [1]), it is possible that here it introduces a *different attitude*. After all, ἀλλά, etymologically belonging together with ἄλλος [*h₂el-jo-], carries in itself “the primary sense of ‘otherness’, diversity” (Denniston–Dover 1954:1) and could be understood as ‘otherwise, else’ in this passage. The final

relative clause, with embedded participle clause, may be interpreted as quasi-consecutive “Time will be the one who gives one thing and delays another”.

28–29 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου || οὐ φαίνεται “if there is any happiness among men, it does not appear without toil”. Verses 28–30 were identified by Theon’s *hypomnema* as a ‘sort of σφραγίς’ (P. Oxy. 2536 τοῦ[τ]ο δὲ ὡσπ(ερ) ἐπισφραγίζων [π]οεῖ, cf. Anderson 2023). The *sententia* of 29–30, introduced as “a sort of cosmic law” (Welles 1966:92, Riaño Ruffilanchas 2001:81–82 who cites the conception underlying *Il.* 24.527–533 as a parallel), can be compared to other Pindaric *gnōmai* concerning the link between ‘happiness’ (ὄλβος) and ‘toil/effort’ (κάματος/πόνος, cf. Welles 1966:93, Köhnken 1976:259–260), cf. *P.* 1.46, *N.* 6.44–45, *I.* 6.10–12. The term ὄλβος, of debated etymology (cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. ὄλβος; see also Janda 2005:275–278), denotes happiness and (material) prosperity (cf. Slater 1969 s.v. ὄλβος, cf. also Konstan 2003, Coin-Longeray 2014). Ancient interpreters explain the *gnōmē* as hinting at Midas’ extraordinary victory (cf. chapter 1, section 2). According to these commentaries, Midas had won the competition even though his reed (Σ *P.* 12 *inscr.* Dr.) or pipe (Σ *P.* 12.52, 54 Dr.) broke, but he had carried on his execution μόνοις τοῖς καλάμοις τρόπῳ σύριγγος “only with the pipes, in the way of the *syrinx*” (Σ *P.* 12 *inscr.* Dr.). Modern commentators are divided on the truthfulness of this story. Wilamowitz 1922:146, Méautis 1956:226–228, Welles 1966:85, Thummer 1968–1969:75, fn. 52 strongly doubt the scholion; Puech 1922:165 and Burton 1962:26 are sceptical, Christ 1896 and Bowra 1964:293 state that Midas’ accident might have happened; Gildersleeve 1885, Sandys 1937, Gentili–Luisi 1995 and Bernardini 2006⁴ trust the scholiast. According to Welles 1966:93 and Köhnken 1976:94 the *sententia* is linked to the myth, regardless of any possible reference to Midas’ performance in Delphi. I align with this interpretation.

29–30 ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἥτοι σήμερον || δαίμων “whether a god will bring it to fulfilment today”. Denniston–Dover (1954:554) propose ‘verily today’ as a possible translation for ἥτοι σήμερον. For Christ (1896) ἥτοι expresses hesitation (“will it be today?”). As an alternative interpretation, followed by Slater 1969 s.v. ἥτοι 2.a, Denniston–Dover (1954:554) suggest that ἥτοι stands here in anacoluthon ‘either’. According to Bernardini 2006⁴:683 ἥτοι = ἥ τοι can introduce an alternative whose second part is implicit. Σ *P.* 12.51–52 Dr. propose that a temporal complement ‘today’ should be followed by an omitted/implicit ἥ ἄυριον “or tomorrow” or ἥ ὕστερον “or later”. While Schroeder 1922 joins ἥτοι and ἀλλά 30, Riaño Ruffilanchas 2001:83–85 unites ἥτοι with Χρόνος (personified): “this will accomplish today a god or ... Time”, neglect-

ing the presence of ἀλλά. A correlation ἤτοι ... ἀλλά is actually unparalleled and the conjunction should not be ignored, see below 30–31. Therefore, I align with the hypothesis of an anacoluthon (on Pindaric anacolutha cf. Misiano 2001).

The encl.3.sg.pron. νιν is interpreted by Σ P. 12.51–52 Dr. as referring to ὄλβος, while ἐκτελευτάω is understood as ‘to fulfil’ (ἐπὶ τέλος ἄξει ‘will bring to completion’, so Σ P. 12.51 Dr.), i.e. as a synonym of ἐκτελέω (*Il.* 9.493+). This interpretation is accepted by Boeckh 1811–1821, Cerrato 1934, Köhnken 1971, with whom I concur (*pace* von Mezger 1880 and Gildersleeve 1885, for whom νιν refers to κάματος).

In Pindar’s victory odes, derivatives of the Gk. root τελ-, that is, synchronically and etymologically connected with the term τέλος ‘end’, occasionally occur in ‘end-proximity’ position (within the last 10 verses of an ode), cf. *P.* 2.95, *P.* 3.115, *N.* 7.105 (τελέθω), *O.* 13.115 (τέλειος, as noted by Rutherford 2013:45), *O.* 3.41 (τελετά), *O.* 5.22, *I.* 7.48 (τελευτά), *P.* 5.117, *I.* 1.68 (τελέω), *P.* 9.118, *N.* 8.45 (τέλος). Pfeijffer 1991 argues for an ‘ambiguous’ meaning of ἐκτελευτᾶν, i.e. as both ‘to end’ (the god can *end* the human happiness) and ‘to fulfil’ (the god can favour the human being). Riaño Rufilanchas 2001:87 suggests an unstated substantive θέμις in the light of *HH* 4.531. Gk. δαίμων (on the synchronic connection with δαήμων ‘wise’ cf. *Pl. Crat.* 398b) denotes the divinity without a specific reference to a god nor any monotheistic nuance (cf. François 1957:69 ff., Burton 1962:188). The term is etymologically related to δαίωμα ‘to divide’ and may be traced back to IE **deh₂-i-* ‘to cut, divide’ (cf. LIV² 103–104, IEW 175–176). Such an etymological connection was also perceived at the synchronic level, cf. Hsch. δ 73 LC δαίμονες ... ἢ ὅτι πάντα μερίζουσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δάσασθαι (cf. also *Et. Gud.* δ 328.23). The fact that δαίμων was perceived as the ‘distributor’ at a certain level of Greek synchrony does not imply that Pindar too preserves this etymology, although the mention of δαίμων is immediately followed by a reference to the ‘allotment of fate’ (see below). On the passage cf. Boeke 2007:35. On specific usages of δαίμων in some Pindaric passages cf. Molyneux 1972 (*O.* 9), Taillardat 1986 (*P.* 8), Lavecchia 1999 (fr. 282).

30 τὸ δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν ‘the allotment of fate cannot be escaped’. Gk. μόρσιμον (τὸ μοιρίδιον Theon *P. Oxy.* 2536) is ‘allotment of fate’/‘share [of destiny]’ (from IE **smer-* ‘to get a share’, cf. μέρος, 11). On ‘fate’ in this and other Pindaric *gnōmai* cf. Boeke 2007:32–37. The variant γε, found in Theon’s hypomnema, is preferred by Pavese 1990:92, Riaño Rufilanchas 2001:87 and Bernardini 2006⁴:683. As Turner 1968 tab. 111 points out, Theon already read οὐ παφυκτόν (found in V and preferred by Pavese 1990:72), while παραφεύγω is preserved in Theon’s paraphrasis (Pardini 1997). However, the majority of the

manuscripts preserve οὐ παρφυκτόν (allegedly, *hapax eiremenon*). I read παρφυκτόν and propose a parallel *ex Graeco ipso*: *Il.* 6.488 μοῖραν δ' οὐ τινὰ φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν.

30–31 ἄλλ' ἔσται χρόνος || οὗτος, ὃ καὶ τιν' ἀελπίτῃ βαλὼν “else it will be Time such as that, striking someone with surprise ...”. As emphasized by Riaño Rufilanchas (2001), the wording of the passage is similar to that of *Il.* 4.160–161, 164 εἴ περ γὰρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν, || ἔκ τε καὶ ὀπὲρ τελεῖ [...] ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ(ε), *Diag.* 2 κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τύχαν || τὰ πάντα βροτοῖσι ἐκτελείται, and to that of other *sententiae* in which time plays a role in fulfilling human destiny (cf. Aeschl. *Pers.* 740). Furthermore, Riaño Rufilanchas proposes that (i) ἦτοι creates an opposition between δαίμων and χρόνος, (ii) χρόνος is personified in *P.* 12, like elsewhere in Pindar, cf. *O.* 2.17, *O.* 10.55, fr. 33, fr. 52d.11 (*Pae.* 4.11 = D4 Rutherford), fr. 159.

While, here, the hypothesis of a personified “Time” may suit the context, Riaño Rufilanchas’ proposal of a disjunction δαίμων ... ἦτοι ... χρόνος* (“a god or Time [will fulfill ...]”) may be weakened by the fact that χρόνος/Χρόνος is introduced by ἄλλά, which does not usually correlate with ἦτοι. This difficulty might be overcome by taking ἄλλά as ‘otherwise, else’, i.e. as “simply introducing a new attitude” (Slater 1969 s.v. ἄλλά 2.c). For ἀελπίτῃ cf. Archil. 105.3 ἐξ ἀελπίτης. The reading τιν' (α) is preferable over τίν ‘you’ (Christ 1896, cf. also Gildersleeve 1885), since it suits the general tone of the *gnōmē*, cf. *P.* 8.76–78 (as proposed by Welles 1966:95).

32 ἔμπαλιν γνῶμας τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' οὐπω “will give one thing against hope, and defer another”. The *sententia* vaguely resembles *O.* 12.10–12 (on which cf. Race 2004). Cf. *ex Pindaro ipso* τὰ καὶ τὰ (*P.* 5.55, *P.* 7.22, *I.* 5.52), on which cf. Bischoff 1938:159–160. The meaning of οὐπω is debated: some interpreters opt for ‘not’ (Gentili and Bernardini 2006⁴), others for ‘not yet’ (e.g. Slater 1969 s.v. οὐπω, Race 1997a). Both interpretations make sense, although the overall meaning of the *gnōmē* acquires different nuances according to which solution is preferred. By employing ‘not’ alone interpreters confer a more definite tone to the *gnōmē*: there is a certain allotment of fate, which comprises some things and does not comprise others; this is what will be given to men, according to the will of god or Time. Employment of ‘not yet’ emphasizes the *timing* of destiny’s gifts: ‘it will be Time the one who gives one thing and defers another’. I align with the latter interpretation which, in my view, is consistent with the references to Time and timing at 29–32. For 32, as well as with the ‘revelatory’ role of χρόνος/Χρόνος, attested elsewhere in Pindar cf. Komornicka 1976.

The νόμος πολυκέφαλος in Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca*

1 The Gorgons' Bellowing in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

It has long been acknowledged that *Pythian Twelve*'s myth is the model for some passages of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.¹ In contrast to Pindar, who is reticent about the Gorgons' location,² Nonnus situates the killing of Medusa and the creation of the tune of many heads in fixed geographic areas: the Carian mountain range and city of Mycale-Mycalessos or Libya.³ According to the *Dionysiaca*, the city known as Μυκαλησσός takes its name from "the re-enactment of Euryale's throat" (*D.* 13.77–78 Μυκαλησσού || Εὐρύαλης μίμημα φερώνυμον ἀνθερεώνας). This folk-etymology is a pun on Gk. μυκάσμαι 'to bellow' (also 'to lament'),⁴ which Nonnus, Herodianus and Suida apply to the Gorgons' cry,⁵ cf. Nonn. *D.* 30.266 Εὐρύαλης μυκόμενον ἀνθερεώνα "the bellowing throat of Euryale";⁶ Hdn. *De Pros.* 3.2 Μυκάλη ... ἐκλήθη δὲ ἐπεὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Γοργόνες ... μυκόμεναι τὴν κεφαλὴν Μεδοῦσης ἀνεκαλοῦντο "Mycale ... was named (so) because the remaining Gorgons ... bellowed (*mukōmenai*) and cried out to Medusa's head";⁷ *Suid.* s.v.

1 As a recent reference on Nonn. *D.* 40.227–233 cf. Gigli Piccardi 2018:268–269 and Massetti 2023.

2 If we integrate γ[ύ]αλα μι[ν]υάν in Pi. fr. 70d.9 (= *Dith.* 4.9), as proposed by Lavecchia 2000:231 (differently Lobel: γ[ύ]αλα μι[ν]δέα), *Dithyramb Four* contains a reference to the region of Cyrene, in Libya.

3 Mycale is the name of a city and a mountain range on the West coast of Asia Minor, corresponding today to Dilek Dağı (cf. Blümel–Lohmann 2006). It is possible to identify the place with Hitt. Arinnanda. According to *Il.* 2.869, Mycale was occupied by the Carians. Herda 2006:85–93 points out that, according to Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.498), Perseus founded the temple of Zeus Mycalesios (dated around 700 BCE). So, he proposes that the killing of the Gorgons was already linked to the city of Mycale by the end of 8th c. BCE.

4 E.g. Theocr. 26.20 μάτηρ κεφαλὰν μυκήσατο παῖδός. An analogous etymology is preserved for the homonymous Boeotian city of Mycalessos (or Mycalettos). According to Pausanias (9.19.4), Mycalettos derived its name from a cow which Cadmus had led to the city.

5 The *Etymologicum Magnum* makes a connection with μυκάσμαι but associates the 'bellowing' with a different moment of Perseus' endeavour, cf. *EM* 594 Μυκάλη· παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ μυκάσθαι τὰς Γοργόνας διωκούσας τὸν Περσέα.

6 Cf. also Nonn. *D.* 40.228, on which see chapter 6, section 3.

7 Cf. also Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* μ 459.

Μυκάλη· Μυκάλη καὶ Μυκαλησός ... παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ μυκάσθαι τὰς Γοργόνας “Mycalē and Mycalesos ... (named) after the Gorgons bellowing (*mukāsthai*) there”.

Further passages of the *Dionysiaca* are reminiscent of Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve* for their lexicon and content, since they exploit the rare *aition* of the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. Thus, not only does the following phraseological analysis cast light on how Nonnus interprets Pindar’s text, but it also clarifies his methods of ‘artistic translation’.⁸ Below, I first focus on Nonnus’ shorter account on Athena’s musical invention (*D.* 24.35–38, section 2) and then move on to the examination of the longer mythological digressions about the ‘tune of many heads’ (*D.* 40.215–233, section 3). These two texts, I argue, are ultimately based on Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve*. Finally, I concentrate on a brief passage mentioning Euryale’s bellowing (*D.* 30.264–267, section 4), which, at least to the eyes of the modern-day interpreter, recalls both *Pythian Ten* and *Pythian Twelve*.

2 Nonn. *D.* 24.35–38

In the twenty-fourth book of the *Dionysica*, Dionysus is about to set ablaze the waters of river Hydaspes and the eponymous river-daimon beseeches the god to spare his stream from destruction. In listing the motivations for which Dionysus should have mercy upon him, Hydaspes recalls the Mygdonian (i.e. Phrygian) pipes, which grow on his banks. This reference paves the way to a brief digression on Athena’s musical invention, cf.

Nonn. *D.* 24.35–38

μὴ δόνακας φλέξειας, ὅθεν σέο Μυγδόνες αὐλοί,
μὴ ποτέ σοι μέμψαιτο τεῇ φιλόμολπος Ἀθήνη,
ἢ ποτε Γοργείων βλοσυρὸν μίμημα καρήνων
φθεγγομένων Λίβυν εὔρεν ὁμοζυγέων τύπον αὐλῶν

Do not burn (my) reeds, which make your Mygdonian *auloi*, shall never reproach you your song-loving Athene, who once invented the Libyan type of pipes united with one yoke as the grim re-enactment of the screaming Gorgons’ heads.

⁸ On this concept, see Conte 2014 and 2017, who discusses the creative dynamics of *imitatio* in Latin literature.

The link between the location of the reeds and the mythological parenthesis is reminiscent of *P.* 12.23–27 (cf. chapter 5, sections 2–3), verses in which the focus shifts from a mythological digression to the city of Orchomenos and the banks of the Boeotian river Cephissus, where the best reeds for the *auloi* used to grow. Nonnus' conceptual transition is in the opposite order to Pindar's: while reference to the Boeotian reeds *follows* a mythological excursus in *Pythian Twelve*, in the *Dionysiaca* the mention of Hydaspes' reeds *precedes* the mythological digression. A cross-reference analysis between Nonnus' text and his matrix reveals a variety of lexical and phraseological similarities:

35 δόνακας : δονάκων (*P.* 12.25, cf. chapter 5, section 3, 25), which probably hints at a specific part of the *aulos* mouthpiece in Pindar

35 αὐλοί : αὐλῶν (*P.* 12.19)

36 Ἀθήνη : Ἀθήνα (*P.* 12.8). In both Pindar's and Nonnus' texts the nom.sg. 'Athena' is placed at the end of the verse, like in traditional hexameter poetry (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 8)

37 ἢ ποτε : τάν ποτε (*P.* 12.6)

37 Γοργείων : <Γοργόνων> (*P.* 12.7)

37 μίμημα : μιμήσαιτ(ο) (*P.* 12.21)

37 καρήνων : κεφαλαίς (*P.* 12.9), κῤῥα (*P.* 12.16), κεφαλᾶν (*P.* 12.23)

38 εὔρεν : ἐφεὔρε (*P.* 12.7), εὔρεν θεός ... εὐροῖς'(α) (*P.* 12.22).

As already touched upon, Pindar's first reference to Athena's invention is τέχνη (*P.* 12.6) and his second κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον (*P.* 12.23). However, commentators disagree on whether τέχνη denotes the *aulos* and the auletic art or the 'tune of many heads' (cf. chapter 1, section 3, chapter 5, section 2, 6). From *D.* 24.38 we deduce that Nonnus concurs with the interpretation of Σ *P.* 12.12a Dr., according to which τέχνη (*P.* 12.6) stands for αὐλητική τέχνη. Certainly, the invention of the νόμος πολυκέφαλος must be after that of the instrument on which the tune is performed. As the tune combined two melodic lines, the double-piped *aulos* would appear to be the indispensable device for re-enacting the lament of the Gorgons. At the same time, the identification of Athena's invention as "the type of pipe with the same yoke" at *D.* 24.38 recalls Pi. *P.* 12.25 (cf. chapter 5, section 4, 25), in which the juxtaposition of the gen.sg. χαλκοῦ 'bronze' to the gen.pl. δονάκων 'reeds' may hint at the instrument's different parts, namely: the double reed and a bronze *syrinx* or the double reed and a bronze support connected to the *aulos* mouthpiece.

3 Nonn. *D.* 40.215–233

The fortieth book of the *Dionysiaca* includes Dionysus' final combat against Deriades, the chief of the Indian army. The Bacchoi celebrate Dionysus' victory with a paean, but immediately after that, they honour their dead with the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος. Although the reference to the 'tune of many heads' strictly involves only *D.* 40.224–233, here I present the passage along with its preceding sequence (215–223), since they both contain some pieces of relevant information.

Nonn. *D.* 40.215–233

- 215 Βάκχοι δ' ἐκροτάλιζον ἀπορρίψαντες ἐνυῶ,
τοῖον ἔπος βοῶντες ὁμογλώσσω ἀπὸ λαιμῶν·
Ἥράμεθα μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν ὄρχαμον Ἰνδῶν·
καὶ γελῶν Διόνυσος ἐπάλλετο χάρματι νίκης,
ἀμπνεύσας δὲ πόνοιο καὶ αἱματόεντος ἀγῶνος
- 220 πρῶτα μὲν ἐκτερέϊξεν ἀτυμβεύτων στίχα νεκρῶν,
δωμήσας ἓνα τύμβον ἀπείριτον εὐρέι κόλπῳ
ἄκριτον ἀμφὶ πυρὴν ἐκατόμπεδον· ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖς
Μυγδονὶς αἰολόμολπος ἐπέκτυπεν αἴλινα σύριγξ,
καὶ Φρύγες αὐλητῆρες ἀνέπλεκον ἄρσενά μολπήν
- 225 πενθαλέοις στομάτεσσιν, ἐπωρχήσαντο δὲ Βάκχαι
ἄβρα μελιζομένοιο Γανύκτορος Εὐάδι φωνῇ·
καὶ Κλεόχου Βερέκυντες ὑπὸ στόμα διζυγες αὐλοὶ
φρικτὸν ἐμυκήσαντο Λίβυν γόνον, ὃν πάρος ἄμφω
Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρυάλη τε μιῇ πολυδαιράδι φωνῇ
- 230 ἀρτιτόμῳ⁹ ῥοιζήδον ἐπεκλάυσαντο Μεδούσῃ
φθεγγομένων κεφαλῇσι διηκοσίῃσι δρακόντων,
ὧν ἄπο μυρομένων σύριγμα κομάων
θρήνον πολυκάρηνον ἐφημίξαντο Μεδούσης

The Bacchoi played the cymbals, sending out a *enuō*-cry, **shouting** this **word** from their throats, which spoke with the same tongue:—*We obtained great glory! We killed the leader of the Indians!*—And Dionysus laughing exulted for the joy of victory, *enjoying a respite from trouble and the gory battle. Firstly, he honoured the ranks of unburied dead by building a single huge mound with a wide bottom around a 100-foot common*

9 Cf. A.R. 4.1515 Γοργόνος ἀρτίτομον κεφαλῇν.

pyre. The Mygdonian syrinx, of modulated song, resounded a funeral lament and the Phrygian auletes **braided a male song with (their) sorrowful lips**, the Bacchai danced to that, while Ganytor delicately sang with the *euoé*-voice. And **under the mouth** of Cleochos the Berektynian pipes, with twofold yoke, **bellowed the awful Libyan lament, which once both Sthenno and Euryale with one many-throated voice, uncontrollably cried on newly-beheaded Medusa. As the two hundred serpents screamed, from whose bewailing heads a hissing came, they voiced a many-headed *thrēnos* for Medusa.**

At a first glance, 215–218 are a variation on the typical scene of the victorious warrior boasting over the defeated enemy (cf. Fenik 1968, Kyriakou 2001:273). Especially, 217 emulates *Il.* 22.393,¹⁰ which, as Nagy 1979:79 points out, virtually includes two verses of a paean, cf.

<i>Il.</i> 22.393	Nonn. <i>D.</i> 40.217	
Ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος	Ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος	–UU–UU– –
ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον	ἐπέφνομεν ὄρχαμον Ἴνδῶν	U–UU–UU– –

Nevertheless, it is also possible to connect *D.* 40.215–220 with some details of *P.* 12. As previously discussed (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 11), Schadewaldt (1928) proposes that the verb ἄρσεν in *P.* 12.11 describes a shout of triumph.¹¹ If this interpretation is correct, ἔπος βοόωντες (Nonn. *D.* 40.216) may parallel *P.* 12.11. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that, in Greek, βοάω and ἄνω came to be perceived as synonyms. An example of this semantic overlap is found in Hesychius' lexicon, although the source of the gloss is unknown and we cannot precisely date the synchronic link preserved in it, cf. Hsch. μ 133 LC μακρὸν ἄρσε· μεγάλως ἐβόησεν. Furthermore, the sequence of events found in Nonnus perfectly parallels Pindar's: the winner's shout of triumph is followed by a funeral lamentation: Dionysus exults over Deriades in a similar way to Perseus exulting over the 'third part of the sisters'; the Bacchoi honour their dead with the *thrēnos* which Athena invented to imitate the Gorgons' lament for Medusa. In this connection, the reference to the *sequence* of the performance in *D.* 40.219–220 (*ἀμπνεύσας δὲ πόνοιο ... πρῶτα μὲν ἐκτερέειξεν ἀτυμβεύτων στίχα νεκρῶν*), resembles the sequence of Athena's composition in *P.* 12.18–19 (*ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων φίλον ἄνδρα πόνων || ἐρρύσατο, παρθένος αὐλῶν*

10 On the similarities and discrepancies between this passage and *Il.* 22.395–472 cf. Bannert–Kröll 2016:490–491.

11 A battle cry is also possible, cf. chapter 9, section 4.1.

τεύχε πάμφωνον μέλος): in both texts, the κεφαλὰν πολλὰν νόμος is performed *after* the πόνος of the victory.

In particular, the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος is performed to honour the dead of Dionysus' army and thus entails a 'memorial'. In this connection it is significant that Pindar calls the *nomos* invented by Athena a εὐκλεῆς μναστήρ ἀγώνων at *P.* 12.24. By applying εὐκλεῆς to μναστήρ, Pindar stresses the indissoluble tie between 'memory/thought' and the attainment of glory through poetry and music. The tune of many heads acquires a 'memorial' dimension because it *brings back to mind* and *confers glory on* (εὐκλεῆς μναστήρ) wars/contests (ἀγώνων) and the people who took part in them. The representation of the *nomos*' performance in Nonnus matches its definition in *P.* 12.24: the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος honours the dead of Dionysus' army, as such it is a glory-making memento of the warriors' fight.

Yet Nonnus' passage differs from its Pindaric model in a few crucial details. Although elsewhere Nonnus credits Athena with the invention of the double-piped *aulos* (see above, section 2), in *D.* 40.215–233 the goddess is out of the picture. Moreover, Pindar's word choice alludes to a distinction between the unarticulated, animalistic *goos* of the Gorgons and Athena's artistically fashioned *thrēnos* (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 8, 21), while Nonnus treats *goos* (228) and *thrēnos* (233) as synonyms, applying both terms to Euryale's and Sthenno's lament. Phraseological comparison between Nonn. *D.* 40.224–233 and *Pythian Twelve* allows us to recognize further common traits:

224 ἀνέπλεκον ἄρσενα μολπὴν : θρήνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνᾳ (*P.* 12.8). Pindar does not identify Athena's composition as male or female. The fact that 'male' (ἄρσενα) describes the melody woven by the Phrygian pipes reflects a situation opposite to the one we reconstruct within Greek traditional hexameter poetry, where lamenting and weaving are typical activities of women (cf. chapter 5, section 2.1)

225 πενθαλέοις στομάτεσσιν : δυσπενθεί σὺν καμάτῳ (*P.* 12.10), καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων (*P.* 12.20)

227 δίζυγες αὐλοί : διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονάκων (*P.* 12.21): the opposition χαλκοῦ (sg.) vs δονάκων (pl.) hints at the two-piped double-reed *aulos* (see above, section 2)

228 φρικτὸν ἐμυκήσαντο ... γόον : ἐρικλάγκταν γόον (*P.* 12.21)

229 Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρυάλη : Εὐρυάλας (*P.* 12.20)

229 μιῇ πολυδειράδι φωνῇ recalls both κεφαλὰν πολλὰν νόμον (*P.* 12.23, see below) and αὐλῶν ... πάμφωνον μέλος (*P.* 12.19)

230 ῥοιζήδῳ lit. 'rushing', which I freely translated as 'uncontrollably' may be interpreting καρπαλιμᾶν (*P.* 12.20, of Euryale's jaws)

231 κεφαλῇσι ... δρακόντων : ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς (*P.* 12.9); furthermore, φθεγγομένων κεφαλῇσι διηκοσίησι δρακόντων is comparable to *Pi.* fr. 70b.15 (= *Dith.* 2.15) μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων "(Athena's aegis) screams with the cries of a thousand serpents" (cf. Accorinti 2004:100, fn. ad 231). The resemblance is even more significant because the serpents on Athena's aegis belong to Medusa's head

232 ἄπο μυρομένων ... κομάων : ὑπό τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς ... λειβόμενον (*P.* 12.9–10), the comparison μυρομένων and λειβόμενον is supported by an Hesychian gloss, which interprets μύρειν as 'to cry', cf. *Hsch.* μ 1887 LC μύρειν· ῥεῖν [ῥῥωρ.] κλαῖειν, θρηνεῖν

233 θρήνον πουλυκάρηνον : κεφαλὰν πολλὰν νόμον (*P.* 12.23).

4 Nonn. *D.* 30.264–267

In Nonn. *D.* 30.249 ff. Athena confronts Dionysus who is trying to get away from the battlefield. In holding up the achievements of his archrival Perseus to the god, the goddess recalls her role as helper of the hero in the fight against the Gorgons.

Nonn. *D.* 30.264–267

Λιβύης ἐπέβης; ἢ Περσέος εἶχες ἀγῶνα;
ἢ Σθεννοῦς ἴδες ὄμμα λιθώπιδος ἢ καὶ αὐτῆς
δύσμαχον Εὐρυάλης μυκώμενον ἀνθρεῶνα;
ἢ πλοκάμους ἐνόησας ἐχιδνοκόμοιο Μεδούσης

Have you gone to Libya? Have you had the task of Perseus? Have you seen the eye of Sthenno **which turns** (things) **to stone**, or also the **bellowing invincible throat** of Euryale herself? Have you seen the **tresses of viper-hair Medusa**?

Nonnus' expressions partly resemble those of Pindar's *Pythian Ten* and *Pythian Twelve*:

265 λιθώπιδος vaguely recalls λίθινον θάνατον φέρων (*P.* 10.48) and, more faintly, λαοῖσι τε μοῖραν ἄγων (*P.* 12.12), since λαοῖσι may create a wordplay with λᾶας 'stone' (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 12)

266 δύσμαχον ... ἀνθρεῶνα is reminiscent of ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς (*P.* 12.9)

266 μυκώμενον may be compared to ἐρικλάγκταν γοόν (*P.* 12.21), as Gk. κλαγγή suggests an association with "animalistic sounds" (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 21)

266 Εὐρυάλης ... ἀνθερεῶνα vaguely recalls Εὐρυάλας ἐκ ... γενύων (*P.* 12.20), since both throat and jaws are body parts involved in the emission of sounds
 267 πλοκάμους ... ἐχιδνοκόμοιο Μεδούσης¹² is comparable to ποικίλον κάρα || δρακόντων φόβαισιν “(her) head adorned with locks of serpents” (*P.* 10.46–47), as both passages seem to compare the patterns formed by Medusa’s snakey head with those of dressed hair.

5 Conclusions

From the analysis of three passages by Nonnus concerning Athena, her invention, and the Gorgons, it is possible to deduce Nonnus’ solution to a few debated aspects of *Pythian Twelve*, namely:

- (i) The match between Nonn. *D.* 24.37 Γοργείων and *P.* 12.7 <Γοργόνων> indirectly supports the integration <Γοργόνων> from Σ *P.* 12.15ab Dr., as proposed by von Schroeder 1900 (cf. Pavese 1990:71);
- (ii) Nonn. *D.* 24.38 ὁμοζυγέων τύπον αὐλῶν identifies Athena’s invention with the double-piped *aulos* and not with the νόμος πολυκέφαλος. Nonnus thus aligns with Σ *P.* 12.12a Dr., according to which the τέχνα (6) discovered by Athena is auletic art itself;
- (iii) The fact that, in Nonn. *D.* 40.216, ἔπος βοόωντες precedes the *thrēnos* section parallels the sequence of mythological events, which we reconstruct for *Pythian Twelve* by accepting the reading ἄυσεν at 11. This coincidence, however, cannot be considered decisive. A shout of triumph over the defeated enemy or a battle cry is a *topos* of warlike contexts. Consequently, there is no guarantee that Nonnus read ἄυσεν nor that *D.* 40.216 relies upon Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve*;
- (iv) The correspondence between ἀνέπλεκον ... μολπήν (Nonn. *D.* 40.224) and θρήνον διαπλέξαισ’ (α) speaks in favour of διαπλέκω meaning ‘to weave’, i.e. ‘to fashion’ (cf. Held 1998), not ‘to interweave’ (as *per* Clay 1992).

¹² Cf. Nonn. *D.* 36.20 ποιητὴν πλοκαμίδα νόθης ἐχάραξε Μεδούσης “the counterfeit hair of Medusa’s image” (with reference to Athena’s aegis).

PART 2

***A Melody with Multiple Heads: A Vedic
Parallel to Pindar's Pythian Twelve***



Introduction: A Comparative Approach to the Myth of *Pythian Twelve*

1 Methodological Premises

The myth of Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* is isolated in the Greek literary panorama. Even though a number of literary sources connect Athena with the discovery of the *aulos*, the goddess is credited with the invention of the *nomos polykephalos* only by Pindar and Nonnus. However, Nonnus' account relies upon the Pindaric model (cf. chapter 6). The question concerning Pindar's source(s) is apparently unsolvable (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 7). In this section any supposed issue concerning Pindar's historical source will be left unaddressed. The methodological premise of my comparative study is that, whether the case is that Pindar invented the myth himself or that he re-elaborated a lost, pre-existing tradition, his mythological digression is built with phraseological tools, which are an inheritance from a previous stage of poetic language. I should stress here that, given the fact that the main comparandum considered in my study is an Old Indic one, such a 'previous stage' will not be called 'Proto-Indo-European',¹ but simply 'Indo-European' or, to use even more specific terminology, 'Graeco-Aryan'. This label refers to a stage in which Greek and Indo-Iranian were joined together. Despite the fact that both Greek and Old Indic are IE languages of old attestation, it is commonly assumed that they branched off from the IE family tree at quite a late stage. For this reason, common traits evidenced at level of 'Graeco-Aryan' may be defined as *descriptively Indo-European*; they are actually reconstructions projected at the level of 'Late (or Recent) Indo-European'.

As already touched upon (cf. 'Preface'), a variety of studies successfully showed that thematic structures, collocations, and fixed combinations of lexemes work as building blocks of narrative texts in Greek and other Indo-European traditions. Due to the highly conservative character of such devices,

1 In this book I use the term Proto-Indo-European to designate what lies at the 'roots' of the Indo-European family tree, i.e. a linguistic stage in which no Indo-European languages had stemmed from the others. This stage can be reconstructed by including the linguistic evidence from the Anatolian and the Tocharian branches, i.e. the first branches which split from the IE family tree. On the methodological problem connected with the label(s) '(Proto-)Indo-European' see the overview provided by West 2007:19–24.

some Pindaric phraseological usages may be traced back to the poetic stock which the Greek poetic tradition as a whole inherited from a previous linguistic phase.² For this reason, comparative investigations that examine a set of Greek texts and different but related comparanda in parallel may be legitimately undertaken.

2 *Rigveda* 10.67 as a Comparandum

The following section consists of a comparison between structures and content of Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* and a hymn from the *Rigveda Samhitā* (RV), the oldest collection of religious hymns written in Vedic Sanskrit.³ Specifically, my choice of my main Old Indic comparandum is conditioned by a striking phraseological match RV 10.67 shares with *Pythian Twelve*: the collocation [GOD-INVENTS (: FINDS)–MELODY/SONG–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}].

Although Pindar's text does not preserve the collocation in this exact form, it can be reconstructed as such on the basis of 22–23 of *Pythian Twelve* (cf. chapter 4, sections 3–4, chapter 5, section 2, 22–23):

εὔρεν θεός· ἀλλὰ νιν εὐροῖσ' ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν,
ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον

Here the creation of the *nomos* as a 'named *nomos*', i.e. as a distinct and recognizable tune that can be referenced, is simultaneous with the creation of the *nomos* itself (cf. νιν εὐροῖσα, i.e. νόμον/μέλος εὐροῖσα*). Indeed, by giving a name to the *nomos*, Athena makes her invention identifiable and for this reason reproducible. The collocation [(Ἀθάνα/)θεός–εὐρίσχω–νόμος_{acc.}–πολλά

2 On this topic see the methodological remarks made in the 'Preface' of this study. Cf. also the results of Massetti 2019, discussing the Pindaric collocations of [FAME/GLORY], [EXCELLENCE/ACHIEVEMENTS (ἀρετή/ἀρεταί)], and [SONG/POETIC WORD] and IE (mostly Indo-Iranian) comparanda.

3 The collection (Skr. *saṁhitā*) of Rigvedic hymns derives from an oral tradition. Different parts of the *Samhitā* are dated to different ages. Since no Rigvedic hymn mentions iron, the latest parts of the collections are to be dated earlier than 1200–1000 BCE, i.e. the period to which the first archaeological record of iron in northwest India is dated and the Kuru hegemony emerged (cf. Lincoln 1981, Jamison 1993, Houben 2019). As for the composition of the earliest hymns, the second half of the second millennium BCE has been proposed as an approximate date (Witzel 1997, Dunkel 2021).

κεφαλῆ_{gen.pl.}]* can thus be assumed to underlie *P.* 12.22–23. Strikingly, a comparable phraseme opens RV 10.67, a hymn ultimately dealing with the aetiology of Vedic sacrifice, cf.

RV 10.67.1ab
imāṃ dhīyaṃ saptāśīrṣṇīm pitā na
ṛtāprajātām bṛhatīm avindat

This seven-headed poetic thought here, born of truth and lofty, did our father find.

The *iunctura* [(Bṛhaspati/)*pitā naḥ-ved-dhī_{acc.}-saptāśīrṣan_{fem.acc.sg.}*] is a phraseological structure, which consists of a relatively free combination of lexemes (i.e. a collocation) and makes reference to the main event of a certain myth. Henceforth I designate collocations of this description as *base collocations*. Before proceeding further, I need to give a brief clarification with respect to this terminological choice.

In this study, I intentionally avoid the expression ‘basic formula’, coined by Renou (1934:110–111) and consecrated by Calvert Watkins’ seminal book *How to Kill a Dragon* (= Watkins 1995). In this work, Watkins (1995:10, 308–311) identifies the expression [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT] as a ‘basic formula’, i.e. a verbal expression, which summarizes the core-event of a myth. I do not concur with this terminology because it may create confusion with the notion of ‘formula’. A formula is “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Parry 1930:80), therefore “a *formula* is a *fixed phrase conditioned by the traditional themes of oral poetry*. The formula is to the form as the theme is to the content” (Nagy 1996:18). As Watkins’ definition makes evident (see above), a ‘basic formula’ is not recognizable as a formula: it can be employed to ‘express a given essential idea’, but it is not used ‘under the same metrical conditions’. For this reason, I choose the label *base collocation* to refer to ‘a relatively free combination of lexemes, which sums up the main event of a certain myth’. I should also make clear that my use of the term ‘base’ and my choice to present the collocations in small capitals between squared brackets does not intend to suggest that a *base collocation* automatically reflects an ‘original’ or ‘proto-stage’ of something which is historically attested. On the contrary, a scheme [x–y–z etc.] provides a sort of model description of a *phraseological complex*, which summarizes the core-event of a narration found in two or more IE traditions where it is expressed by a set of nearly synonymous lexemes. Put simply, the aim of my terminology is to stress that base collocations allow considerable flexibility for the lexical

renewal and the syntax of their elements and, unlike formulas, do not correlate in a fixed way with metrical patterns.

3 *Similia inter dissimilia*

The similarity between the *base collocations* of *P.* 12.22–23 and RV 10.67.1ab is impressive: not only are divine figures of the Greek and the Vedic tradition connected with a musical/poetic discovery, but their newly invented work of art is associated with the notion of [HEAD]. The Greek and Old Indic phraseological structures may be schematically presented as follows:

CHART 1 Collocation [GOD–INVENTS (: FINDS)–ARTISTIC CREATION_{acc.}–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}]

	GOD	INVENTS (: FINDS)	ARTISTIC CRE- ATION _{acc.}	MULTIPLE- HEADS _{adj./gen.}
Gk.	(Ἀθάνᾱ/)θεός	εὐρίσχω (εὐρε/εὐροῖσα)	νόμον	πολλᾶν κεφαλᾶν 'of many heads'
Ved.	(Bṛhaspati/)pitṛ naḥ	ved (avindat)	dhīyam	saptāśīrṣṇīm 'seven-headed'

At the same time, however, the two *iuncturae* occur in the framework of diverse mythological narratives: the myth in *Pythian Twelve* associates Athena’s musical invention with Perseus’ killing of the Gorgon, whereas RV 10.67 connects Bṛhaspati’s invention with the Vala-myth, a cattle-raid episode. The two myths greatly differ in content and cannot be directly traced back to a common Indo-European mythological antecedent.

In particular, it has long been noted that the Greek saga of Perseus is heterogeneous in nature. It includes a variety of folk-tale motifs⁴ as well as components of both IE and non-IE origin. In this connection, scholars almost unanimously agree upon the Near Eastern provenience of some distinctive elements of Perseus’ deed and equipment:

4 On folk-tale motifs in the story (ATU 300 ‘Dragon Slayer’, ATU 581 ‘Magic Object and the Trolls’), cf. Nilsson 1932:40 (cf. also Nilsson–Vermeule 1983), who, following Hartland 1894–1896, judges Perseus’ account as “unusually crowded with folk-tale motifs”. For a more recent analysis of these aspects cf. Hansen 2002:119–130 (esp. 122–123), 246–251.

- The word κίβισις ‘leather pouch’, which commonly denotes a pouch or satchel carried by Perseus is interpreted by Hesychius (χ 2600 LC) as a Cypriot dialect word that was probably borrowed from Hebrew *qbs* ‘gather’ (cf. Lewy 1895:91).⁵
- Perseus’ sickle, Gk. ἄρπη, has been compared by Hopkins (1934:348) to the royal weapon of kings in Byblos.⁶

Additionally, Hopkins (1934)⁷ convincingly explains how a variety of distinctive traits of the Gorgon ultimately derive from the Assyrian figure of Humbaba, the guardian of the cedar forests, whom Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill:⁸

- Just like the Greek monster creature, Humbaba is always represented frontally, with a grinning face. His figurative portrayal matches the literary one, cf. *Huwawa* B 90–95 “the warrior whose face is a lion’s grimace”.⁹
- The Assyrian representations of Humbaba’s death may also lie at the basis of the typical *knielaufend* pose of the Gorgon. Comparison between the Cyprian cylinder from Bode Museum Berlin, VA 2145 (a hero with a sickle, looking backwards, i.e. resembling Perseus, kills a kneeling enemy) and the Assyrian cylinder from Bode Museum, Berlin, VA 4215 (two heroes kill a kneeling enemy, probably a demon) suggests that the Greek iconographic pattern of the kneeling enemy who is about to die derives from a Near Eastern model.
- In further support of Hopkins’ (1934) hypothesis I would like to stress a remarkable parallel: Humbaba is said to possess a ‘deadly gaze’, cf. *Huwawa* A 123 *igi mu-ci-in-bar igi uc₂-a-kam* “when he looks at someone, it is the look of death”, a characteristic which perfectly parallels Medusa’s power. Gk.

5 On κίβισις ‘leather bag’ (Hsch. χ 2766 LC) cf. Kretschmer–Hartmann–Kroll 1921:247.

6 The etymology of ἄρπη is debated. Grimme 1925:17, followed by West 1997:291 (cf. Robert 1955:12, Sekunda 1996:9–17, Miller 2004:168–171), suggests that ἄρπη is an adapted borrowing from Semitic *héreb* ‘sword’. Frisk GEW and Beekes EDG s.v. ἄρπη, though favouring the hypothesis of a non-IE etymology, mention a possible connection with Balto-Sl. terms, OCS *srъpъ*, Latv. *sirpe* ‘sickle’, as well as with Lat. *sarpīō*, *sarpō* ‘to trim’ (on whose problematic vocalism cf. Schrijver 1991:493, EM s.v. *sarpīō*).

7 Cf. also Helck 1979:214–215, Burkert 1987:26–34, 1992:85–87, West 1997:454–455, Bremmer 2008:337. Obviously, alternative hypotheses about the origin of the Gorgon and her iconography have been formulated: Six 1885:94 and Pettazzoni 1921–1922 propose Egyptian parallels for the Gorgon’s head’s iconography (namely: the god Bes, the goddess Hathor). Robbins Dexter (2010) claims that Medusa’s figure results from a merger between the Neolithic goddess of Old Europeans, non-IE (i.e. Near-Eastern) features, and IE elements.

8 As a recent reference cf. Graff 2012.

9 On the influence of the iconographic type of Humbaba’s head on the *gorgoneion* cf. Giuliano 1959–1960, Karaghiorga 1970.

Γοργώ and the adjective γοργός often combine with terms belonging to the semantic field of eyesight, cf. *Il.* 8.349, 11.36, Aeschl. *Sept.* 537+.¹⁰

- Medusa and Humbaba die in similar ways: Enkidu beheads Humbaba and puts his head in a leather bag, cf. *Huwawa* A 178–180.
- Significantly, both Medusa's and Humbaba's heads later became apotropaic symbols within their respective cultural settings.¹¹

The complex background of the mythological comparanda and the macroscopic differences the Pindaric and the Vedic texts display invite us to carefully investigate to what extent Pindar's context and his phraseological usages truly resemble the Old Indic ones.

4 Comparative Plan

My comparative investigation proceeds as follows: In chapter 8 ("Bṛhaspati and the Poetic Vision of Seven Heads. *Rigveda* 10.67: Text and Commentary"), I introduce *Rigveda* 10.67 without taking into account non-Old Indic comparanda. The hymn, which is presented in translation, is accompanied by a short commentary referencing myths and expressions connected with the Vala-myth in Vedic.

In chapter 9 ("How to Find a Song of Multiple Heads: Collocations in Context"), I concentrate on different aspects of the Gorgon myth, which are associated with the episode of Perseus and Medusa in Pindar and elsewhere, both in a direct and indirect way, since some distinctive mythological features merge or, in an opposite and complementary fashion, proliferate within interconnected narratives in contrast or in apposition. In my parallel examination of the Greek and the Vedic traditions, I focus on possible shared details for:

1. Features of the enemy and his/her abode (mytho-geography);
2. Association with the *base collocation* [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT];
3. Association with the collocation [HERO–DRIVES away–GOODS (cattle, women etc.)];
4. Acoustic dimensions of the narratives.

With my analysis I seek to show that the mythological accounts associated with the figures of Perseus and the Gorgons in Greece have a variety of traits in common with the proposed Old Indic texts recounting the myths of Vala and

¹⁰ The parallel is also noted by West 1997:454.

¹¹ On Medusa's head as an apotropaic symbol cf. Neira 2015. Humbaba's head may have acquired an apotropaic value, since the demon is invoked in prayers for protection, cf. Thureau-Dangin 1925:26, Graff 2013.

Vṛtra (i.e. RV 10.67 and others). In my conclusions (chapter 10, “Midas’ δόξα and Bṛhaspati’s *dākṣinā*”) I argue that the cumulative phraseological and thematic evidence suggests that, even in the case that the myth of Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve* was invented *ex novo* by the Theban poet, Pindar operated with inherited thematic and phraseological stock.

Br̥haspati and the Poetic Vision of Seven Heads

Rigveda 10.67: Text and Commentary

1 Introduction

Rigveda 10.67 centres on the god Br̥haspati and his role in the Vala-myth. This is a cattle-raid narrative, the details of which are attested in several Rigvedic hymns.¹ The Paṇis, Indra's enemies, possess huge cattle herds. They keep them concealed in a rocky cavern named Vala, which is situated in a remote region of the world. Some hymns specify that Indra sends off his dog, Saramā, to find the cows (RV 1.62.3, 10.108). Saramā locates the Paṇis' hiding place. The Paṇis deride Saramā, so, she returns to Indra, who decides to head to Vala himself. The god splits open the cavern and steals the Paṇis' cows.

In a number of passages, Indra destroys Vala thanks to the help of Br̥haspati, the god of sacrifice,² and a group of singing priests,³ identified as the Aṅgirasas or the Uśijas.⁴ Indra and Br̥haspati are associated in several texts.⁵ For instance,

- 1 On Br̥haspati cf. Shende 1947; on the myth cf. Oberlies 2012:200–207.
- 2 As the god of ritual speech, Br̥haspati is invoked for protection (cf. RV 1.18.3, 2.23.4–17, 2.30.4, 2.30.9, 7.97.2–4, 10.103.4, 10.155.2–3), for help with the ritual speech (RV 1.40.4–6, 7.97.1, 7.97.9) and the sacrifice (RV 2.25, 2.26) as well as to punish from all forms of evil speech (RV 10.182).
- 3 The Aṅgirasas are Br̥haspati's troops, cf. RV 4.50.5ab *sá suṣṭúbhā sá řkvatā gaṇéna , valám ruroja phaligám řáveṇa* "he with his flock possessing good rhythm, the flock possessing chant—he broke Vala, broke its bolt with his roar". Consequently, the god is addressed as 'troop-lord of troops', cf. RV 2.23.1ac *gaṇánām tvā gaṇápatiṁ havāmahe , kavīm kavínām upamásravastamam | jyeṣṭharájam bráhmaṇām brahmaṇas pate* "we call upon you, the troop-lord of troops, the most famous poet of poets, the preeminent king of sacred formulations, O Lord of the sacred formulation".
- 4 Ved. *uśij-* (: OAv. *usij-*) designates both 'poet' and 'priest'. In the *Rigveda*, the term also occurs as an epithet of Agni. The etymology of the word is unknown. It may reflect a compound *uś°ij-* with a FCM reflecting a zero-grade of the same root underlying Ved. *vaś* 'to want' (IE **uek-*, cf. LIV² 672–673, IEW 1135) and a SCM based on the root IE **h₄ag-* 'to lead, convey' (reconstructed as **h₂eǵ-* in LIV² 255–256, IEW 4–5) or **H₁ag-* 'to sacrifice' (cf. LIV² 224–225, IEW 501). However, Scarlata 1999:398 criticizes these reconstructions.
- 5 Cf. RV 1.40.1–2, where Br̥haspati is associated with Indra and the Marutas. RV 4.49 reflects a further overlap between the two gods. This short hymn to Indra and Br̥haspati is likely to be based on hymns to Indra and Vāyu (cf. Jamison–Brereton 2020). Furthermore, in RV 4.50.10–11, Br̥haspati and Indra are invited together to drink the soma. From the phraseological point of view, cf. also the overlap between Indra *acyutacyút-* 'shaker of the unshakable' (RV 2.12.9d,

the expressions “with Bṛhaspati as yokemate” (*bṛhaspátinā yujá*, RV 8.96.15d) and “with Indra as a yokemate” (*indreṇa yujá*, RV 2.23.18c)⁶ apply to Indra and Bṛhaspati respectively. Moreover, even though Indra is often identified as the protagonist of the Vala-myth, some poems, like RV 10.67, ascribe this heroic deed directly to Bṛhaspati. As shown by Hans-Peter Schmidt in his 1968 seminal study,

Indra was the original hero of the Vala-myth, in his role as priest-king and with his priestly weapons—songs and correctly formulated true speech—with the Aṅgiras singers as his helpers. In this role he received the epithet “bṛhaspati”. But in time the epithet was split off into a separately conceived divine figure Bṛhaspati, first as an alloform of Indra and then detached from Indra as an independent divinity who served as Indra’s priest—taking with him Indra’s priestly role, while Indra retained the roles of king and warrior.

JAMISON–BRERETON 2014:633

Our hymn was composed in triṣṭubh-meter by Ayāśya Āṅgīrasa. It consists of twelve stanzas, which display a set of lexical and semantic repetitions (see below, sections 2 and 4).⁷ The poem opens with a reference to Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgīrasas (1–3) and moves on to the description of Vala’s opening and Bṛhaspati’s accomplishment (4–5): by destroying the Vala cave, Bṛhaspati found ‘the dawn, the cow, the sun and the chant’ (5). The second part of the hymn starts by recalling the Vala-endeavour (6–8), celebrates Bṛhaspati (9–10), and concludes with a final invocation of Bṛhaspati (11) and of Indra (12), who is identified as the smasher of Vṛtra, as well as the crusher of Arbuda’s head and the liberator of the waters.

6.18.5c) and RV 2.24.2c *prācyāvayad ācyutā brāhmaṇas pátih* “the Lord of the Sacred Formulation moved the immovable forward” (cf. Scarlata 1999:125–126).

6 RV 2.24.12cd *ácha ṇdrābrahmaṇaspatī havír nó*, *ṇnam yújeva vājínā jigātam* “O Indra, O Lord of the Sacred Formulation, do you two come here to our offering, like two prize-winning yokemates to their food”. Bṛhaspati’s call accompanies Indra in RV 7.97.3.

7 For a distinction between lexical and semantic repetitions cf. chapter 2, section 3.

2 Repetitions and Rings in *Rigveda* 10.67

The following lexical repetitions can be identified within the poem:

TABLE 7 *Rigveda* 10.67, lexical repetitions

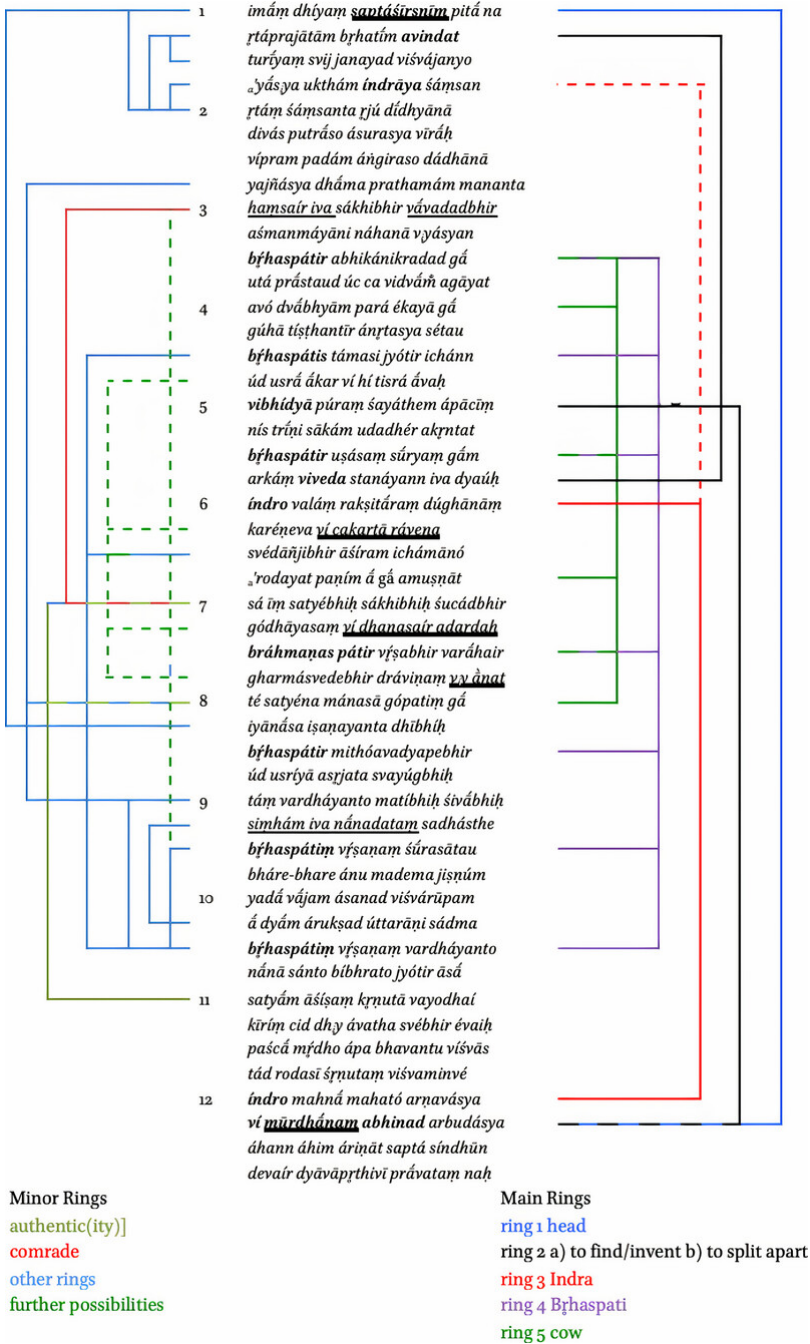
[POETIC THOUGHT]	<i>dhīyam</i> (1a)	::	<i>dīdhyānā</i> (2a)	::	<i>dhībhiḥ</i> (8b)
[CORRECTNESS]	<i>ṛtā°</i> (1b)	::	<i>ṛtām</i> (2a)		
[to GENERATE]	<i>ṛtāpra°jātām</i> (1b)	::	<i>janayad viśvá°jan-yaḥ</i> (1c)		
[to FIND/INVENT]	<i>avindat</i> (1b)	::	<i>viveda</i> (5d)		
[INDRA]	<i>īndrāya</i> (1d)	::	<i>īndrah</i> (6a)	::	<i>īndrah</i> (12a)
[SOLEMN SPEECH]	<i>śāṃsan</i> (1d)	::	<i>śāṃsanta</i> (2a)		
[THINK/THOUGHT]	<i>mananta</i> (2d)	::	<i>mānasā</i> (8a)	::	<i>matibhiḥ</i> (9a)
[COMRADE]	<i>sākhibhiḥ</i> (3a)	::	<i>sākhibhiḥ</i> (7a)		
[BṚHASPATI]	<i>bṛhaspātīḥ</i> (3c)	::	<i>bṛhaspātīḥ</i> (4c)	::	<i>bṛhaspātīḥ</i> (5c)
				::	<i>brāhmaṇas</i> (7c)
				::	<i>bṛhaspātīḥ</i> (8c)
	<i>bṛhaspātīm</i> (9c)	::	<i>bṛhaspātīm</i> (10c)		
[COW]	<i>gā</i> (3c)	::	<i>gā</i> (4a) :: <i>gām</i> (5c) :: <i>gā</i> (6c)	::	<i>gódhāyasam</i> (7c)
				::	<i>gópātimgā</i> (8a)
[LIGHT]	<i>jyōtiḥ</i> (4c)	::	<i>jyōtiḥ</i> (10c)		
[to SEARCH]	<i>ichánn</i> (4c)	::	<i>ichámānāḥ</i> (6c)		
[UP + DAWN-COWS]	<i>úd usrá</i> (4d)	::	<i>úd usrýā</i> (8d)		
[to SPLIT APART]	<i>vibhidyā</i> (5a)	::	<i>ví ... abhinat</i> (12b)		
[AUTHENTIC(ITY)]	<i>satyébhiḥ</i> (7a)	::	<i>satyéna</i> (8a)	::	<i>satyām</i> (11a)
[to INCREASE]	<i>vardháyantaḥ</i> (9a)	::	<i>vardháyantaḥ</i> (10c)		
[SEAT]	<i>sadhásthe</i> (9b)	::	<i>sádma</i> (10b)		
[BULL]	<i>vṛṣaṇam</i> (9c)	::	<i>vṛṣaṇam</i> (10c)		

Further semantic repetitions and parallelisms can be detected:

TABLE 8 *Rigveda* 10.67, semantic repetitions

[HEAD]	<i>saptásīrṣṇīm</i> (1a)	::	<i>mūrdhānam</i> (12b)		
[like LOUD ANIMAL]	<i>haṃsair iva vāvadadbhiḥ</i> (3a)			::	<i>siṃhām iva nānadatam</i> (9b)
[to OPEN/CRUSH APART]	<i>ví ... āvaḥ</i> (4d)	::	<i>ví cakartā</i> (6b)	::	<i>ví ... adardaḥ</i> (7b)
				::	<i>vṛṣānaṭ</i> (7d)

The entire set of repetitions is hereunder schematically presented:



SCHEME 5 Ring-composition of Rigveda 10.67

The reiteration of terms for ‘head’ (1a, 12b) encompasses the hymn and thus frames further internal circles. Two internal rings (ring 2.a and 2.b), interlocking in 5, divide the poem into two parts. They emphasise the main events of the myth: the invention/finding of the poetic thought ‘of seven heads’ (cf. the repetition of *ved*: *avindat* [1b], *viveda* [5d], ring 2.a) within the *base collocation* [GOD–INVENTS–SONG/POETIC THOUGHT_{acc.}] and the smashing of Vala (cf. the reiteration of ‘to split/open apart’: *vibhidyā* [5a] : *vī* ... *abhinat* [12b]; *vī* ... *āvaḥ* [4d], *vī cakartā* [6b] : *vī* ... *adardah* [7b] : *vṛ ānaṭ* [7d]).

The recurrence of divine names creates further internal rings (rings 3 and 4), which give prominence to the protagonists of the myth (cf. section 4 on st. 6, below). The main circular structures are additionally interlaced through several other lexical and semantic repetitions, in which the terms are placed at close distance from one another (cf. section 4, on st. 10).

3 Text and Translation

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 <i>imāṃ dhīyaṃ saptāśīrṣṇīm pitā na
ṛtāprajātām bṛhatīm avindat
turīyaṃ svij janayad viśvājanyo
a'yāsya ukthām indrāya śāmsana</i></p> <p>2 <i>ṛtām śāmsanta ṛjū dīdhyānā
divās putrāso āsurasya vīrāḥ
vīpram padām āṅgirasas dādhanā
yajñāsya dhāma prathamam
mananta</i></p> <p>3 <i>haṃsair iva sākhibhir vāvadadbhir
aśmanmāyāni nāhanā vṛjāsya
bṛhaspātir abhikānikradad gā
utā prāstaud uc ca vidvāṃ agāyat</i></p> <p>4 <i>avó dvābhyām parā ekayā gā
gūhā tiṣṭhantīr āṇṛtasya sētau
bṛhaspātis tāmasi jyōtir ichānn
ūd usrā ākar vī hí tīsrā āvaḥ</i></p> | <p>1. This seven-headed poetic thought here,⁸ born of truth and lofty, did our father find. The fourth one indeed did the irrepressible one, belonging to all men, generate as he was pronouncing a solemn speech for Indra.</p> <p>2. Pronouncing the truth, thinking straight, the sons of heaven, the heroes of the lord, the Aṅgirasas, establishing their inspired word [/laying their inspired track], pondered the first foundation of the sacrifice.</p> <p>3. Along with his comrades, who were constantly gabbling like geese, while he was throwing open the fastenings made of stone, while he kept roaring to the cows, Bṛhaspati both started the praise song and struck up the melody, as knowing one.</p> <p>4. With two (gates) below, with one above, the cows standing hidden in the fetter of untruth—Bṛhaspati, seeking light in the darkness, brought up the ruddy ones, for he opened up the three (gates).</p> |
|--|---|

8 I change “insightful thought” (Jamison–Brereton 2014) to “poetic thought”.

- 5 *vibhidyā púram śayáthem ápācīm
nís trīṇi sākám udadhér akṛntat
bṛhaspátir uśásam sūryam gám
arkám viveda stanáyann íva dyaúh* 5. Having split apart the stronghold (from front) to back, (having split apart) the lairs, at one blow he cut out the three [= dawn, sun, cow] from the reservoir. Bṛhaspati found the dawn, the sun, the cow, (found) the chant while he was thundering like heaven.
- 6 *índro valám rakṣitāram dughānām
karēṇeva ví cakartā ráveṇa
svédāñjibhir āśíram ichámāno
a₁rodayat pañim á gá amuṣṇāt* 6. Indra cut apart Vala, the guard over the milkers, with a roar like a tool. Seeking the milk-mixture with (his comrades) anointed with sweat, he made the niggard wail: he stole the cows.
- 7 *sá īṇ satyébhiḥ sákhibhiḥ śucádbhir
gódhāyasam ví dhanasaúr adardah
bráhmanas pátir vṛṣabhir varáhair
gharmásvedebhir dráviṇam vy ānaṭ* 7. With his trusty comrades blazing, with the winners of spoils, he cleaved apart the cow-nurturer. The Lord of the Sacred Formulation reached through to the treasure with his bulls, his boars, with their hot sweat [/sweating over the gharma pot].
- 8 *té satyéna mánasā gópatiṇ gá
iyānása iṣaṇayanta dhūbhiḥ
bṛhaspátir mīthóavadyapebhir
úd usríyā asṛjata svayúgbhiḥ* 8. With trusty mind begging the cowherd for the cows, they compelled him with their poetic thoughts.⁹ Bṛhaspati loosed the ruddy ones upward, with his own yoke-mates who protect each other from fault.
- 9 *tám vardháyanto matíbhiḥ śívábhiḥ
siṇhám íva nánadataṁ sadhásthe
bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam śúrasātau
bháre-bhare ānu madema jiṣṇúm* 9. With our propitious thoughts strengthening him, ever roaring in his seat like a lion, we would celebrate Bṛhaspati the bull, victorious at the contest of champions, victorious in every raid,
- 10 *yadá vājam ásanad viśvárūpam
á dyám árukṣad úttarāṇi sádma
bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam vardháyanto
nānā sánto bíbhrato jyótir āsá* 10. When he won the prize of all forms and mounted to heaven, to the higher seats. Bṛhaspati the bull (would we celebrate), strengthening him—though each (of us) brings light with our mouth in our own way.
- 11 *satyám āśíṣam kṛṇutā vayodhai
kīrīm cid dhīy ávatha svébhir évaiḥ
paścá mṛdho ápa bhavantu víśvās
tád rodasī śṛṇutam viśvaminvé* 11. Make our hope come true, our hope for the conferring of vigor. For you help even the weakling in your own ways. Let all slighers be off, be behind (us). You two world-halves, who set all in motion, hear this.
- 12 *índro mahná maható arṇavásya
ví mūrdhānam abhinad arbudásya
áhann áhim áriṇāt saptá síndhūn
devaír dyāvāpṛthivī právatam naḥ* 12. Indra with his greatness split apart the head of the great flood, of Arbuda. He smashed the serpent. He let flow the seven streams. O Heaven and Earth, along with the gods, further us.

9 I change “with their insightful thoughts” (Jamison–Brereton 2014) to “with their poetic thoughts”.

4 Commentary

1 Bṛhaspati's discovery is described as a 'poetic thought/vision', Ved. *dhī-* (cf. Ved. *dhay* 'to look, perceive, conceive, think'), "insightful thought" (Jamison–Brereton 2014), "Dichtung" (Geldner 1951–1957). Since Ved. *dhī-* sometimes means 'poem, i.e. the result of an insightful thought/vision', Ayāśya Āṅgīrasa may be referring to RV 10.67 itself. In this case, analogously to what Phillips (2013) proposes for *Pythian Twelve*, our hymn would be meta-aetiologic in nature.

The adj. *saptāśīrṣan-* 'having seven heads' (1a) is usually interpreted as an allusion to the seven Āṅgīrasas, the singing priests who escort (Indra/)Bṛhaspati in his endeavour (Schmidt 1968:228). In fact, one passage might allow us to recover a link between the number 'seven' and the Āṅgīrasas in the Valamyth, cf. RV 4.2.15 *ádā mātur uśasaḥ saptá víprā , jáyemahi prathamá vedháso nṛṇ | divás putrá áṅgīraso bhavem_a , ádrim_a rujema dhanínam śúcántaḥ* "then as the seven inspired poets might we be born from mother Dawn, as the foremost ritual adepts for men. Might we become sons of heaven, Āṅgīrasas. Might we break the rock that holds the prize, as we blaze". The association between Bṛhaspati and number seven is not an isolated trait of RV 10.67: the god is said to possess 'seven mouths' and 'seven reins', which are in turn identified with his priestly escort, cf. RV 4.50.4cd *saptás_a yas tuvijátó ráveṇa , ví saptáraśmir adhamat támāṁsi* "he, possessing seven mouths [= Āṅgīrasas] and seven reins [= seers?], being powerfully born, blew apart the dark shades with his roar".

The expression *pitá naḥ*, "our father" (1a), addressed to Bṛhaspati (cf. RV 6.73.1c, tautometric), is reminiscent of "(our) fathers" (Ved. *pitáro naḥ*), a common designation of the Āṅgīrasas (RV 1.71.2a, 10.62.2a, cf. also 10.62.5). Elsewhere Bṛhaspati is called 'father to all the gods', Ved. *pitré viśvádevāya* (dat., RV 4.50.6a). Significantly, the apostrophe to 'our father' (1a) is followed by three occurrences of the root *janⁱ* 'to generate' (IE **ǵen_{h₂}*-, cf. LIV² 163–165, IEW 373–375), cf. *ṛtāprajāta-* "born of truth" (1b), *janayat* "he generated", *viśvájanyaḥ* "belonging to all men (°*janya-*)" (1c). The use of *janⁱ* in (1c) *turíyaṁ svij janayat* is also reminiscent of passages in which Bṛhaspati is identified as the 'begetter of sacred formulations', cf. RV 2.23.2d *janitá bráhmaṇām*. At the same time, the compound *ṛtāprajāta-* "born of truth" (1b), together with the expression *ṛtām śáṁsanta ṛjū dídhyanāḥ* "pronouncing the truth, thinking straight" (2a) stresses that Bṛhaspati's and the Āṅgīrasas' invention is in conformity with the truth/cosmic order (Ved. *ṛtá-*).

According to Jamison–Brereton 2014:1488, "the fourth one", Ved. *turíyam* (1c), "refers to the fourth, inaudible portion of speech, or the fourth formulation, which figures prominently in Vedic speculations on the nature and power of

speech (see Jamison 1991:251–257). This explanation is well suited to the context since Bṛhaspati is said to pronounce a *śáṃsa*- “solemn speech” for Indra (1d).¹⁰

The verb *ved* ‘to find’ (see below, [5cd]) is often used in connection with the priest-god, cf. the epithets *vasuvíd*- ‘finding riches’ (RV 1.18.2b), *svarvíd*- ‘finding the sun’ (Bṛhaspati’s chariot in RV 2.23.3d), and two verses from RV 10.68: *gab sósśám avindat sá sáṁvāḥ só agnīm* “he found the dawn, found the sun, found the fire”; *ind bṛhaspatír bhinád ádriṁ vidád gáh* “Bṛhaspati split the rock and found the cows”.

2 The stanza introduces (Indra/)Bṛhaspati’s helpers by their name: the Aṅgirasas (2c) are the ‘sons of Heaven’ (*divás putrásaḥ* [2b], cf. RV 3.53.7b) who are distinguished by rectitude (*ṛtám ... ṛjú*)¹¹ in speaking (*śáṃsantaḥ, vípram padám ... dádhānāḥ* “pronouncing ... establishing their inspired word”) and thinking (*dídhyānāḥ ... mananta* “thinking ... they pondered”). The two participles *śáṃsantaḥ ... dídhyānāḥ* “pronouncing ... thinking” (2a) recall *śáṃsa*- “solemn speech” (1d) and *dhí*- “poetic thought” (1a), while *ṛtám* “truth” (2a) reprises *ṛtáprajātām* “born in truth” (1b).

The term *padá*- (2c) is ambiguous, since it may refer both to ‘word’ and ‘track’ (cf. Thompson 1995). In turn, *padá*- ‘track’ often applies to poetic creation, since the creative process, just like in Greek Archaic poetry (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 7), is metaphorically represented as the search for a physical place, cf. e.g. RV 7.87.4cd, 10.53.10cd. At 2d the poet stresses the role of the Aṅgirasas in connection with the creation of the sacrifice. While *vípram padám ... dádhānāḥ* “establishing their inspired word” (2c) emphasizes the sphere of speech, the verb *mananta* “they pondered” (2d), semantically paralleling *dídhyānāḥ* ‘thinking’ (2a), highlights the sphere of mental activity.

3 The focus shifts progressively from the Aṅgirasas to Bṛhaspati, in an accumulation of acoustic elements: the Aṅgirasas are compared to ‘geese’, cf. *haṁsaiḥ iva ... ávadadbhiḥ* “constantly gabbling like geese” (3a), while the acoustic dimension of Bṛhaspati is emphasized by Ved. *abhikánikradat* “roaring to the cows” (3c), *prástaut* “started the praise song” *út ... agāyat* “struck up the melody” (3d). This sequence of lexemes apparently marks a climax from ‘unarticulated/animal-like sound’ (*haṁsaiḥ iva ... ávadadbhiḥ, abhikánikradat gáh* “constantly gabbling like geese ... roaring to the cows”, [3a], [3c]) to ‘musical

10 On this term, phraseology and etymology cf. García Ramón 1992.

11 Cf. RV 2.24.7a, 4.50.3ab (where the Aṅgirasas are called *ṛtaspyśaḥ* ‘touching the truth’). In RV 2.24.8a Bṛhaspati is said to possess a ‘bow whose string is truth’ (Ved. *ṛtájya*-).

sound' (*prāstaut* ... *út* ... *agāyat* "he started the praise song ... struck up the melody", [3d]), which is produced by Bṛhaspati, the 'knowing one' (Ved. *vidvāms-* [3d]).

The comparison between the Aṅgirasas and the birds in (3a) is similar to the metaphor found in RV 10.68, in which Bṛhaspati's chants are compared to water birds, cf. RV 10.68.1ab *udaprūto ná váyo rákṣamānā*, *vāvadato abhrīya-syeva ghōṣāḥ* "constantly gabbling like water birds watching out for each other, like the sounds of booming (thunder) emanating from a cloud".¹² The god is often associated with loud utterances of a distinctly different in nature, namely: non-articulated cries and correctly pronounced formulations. His 'roaring and bellowing' is emphasized in RV 1.190.1, 4.50.1ab, 6.73.1d. Elsewhere, his call is directly compared to a 'terrible beast' (*mṛgāḥ ná bhīmāḥ*, RV 1.190.3d, *mṛgāṇām ná*, RV 1.190.4c). Other passages stress the leading role of the priest god, identifying him as the 'guide of the song' (*gāthānyāḥ*, RV 1.190.1c, *asyā yantā sūktāsyā*, RV 2.23.19ab, 2.24.16ab).¹³ In a way analogous to the poet in Ancient Greece (cf. Massetti 2019:169–174), the god is also compared to the point in which all songs converge in streams (RV 1.190.7).

In (3b) the expression *aśmanmāyāni náhanā* "the fastenings made of stone"—Ved. *nah*, *nadh* usually applies to 'binding' of chariots and yokes, cf. Grassmann–Kozianka 1996 s.v. *nadh-*, *nah*—hints at the Vala cave. A thematic derivative from IE **uel-* 'to enclose, envelop' (cf. LIV² 678, IEW 674), Ved. *valá-* is the enclosure *par excellence*, cf. chapter 9, section 1.4.

4 Vala is again compared to a fetter (*ánrtasya sétau* "in the fetter of untruth" [4b]), a place where the cows are hidden (*gá*, *gūhā tīṣṭhantīḥ* [4ab]), and to a sort of stable, the doors of which are opened by (Indra/)Bṛhaspati. The same accomplishment is ascribed to Agni (RV 7.9.2) or, more often, to Indra, cf. RV 6.17.6cd *aúrñor dūra usrýābhyo ví dṛlḥá*, *úd ūrvád gá asrjo aṅgirasvān* "You (: Indra) opened the doors, opened up the strongholds for the dawn-red ones. Accompanied by the Aṅgirasas, you sent the cows surging up from the enclosure" (cf. also RV 6.18.5, 6.31.5). In RV 10.67, the result of (Indra/)Bṛhaspati's heroic deed is described as both the liberation of the cows (*úd usrá ákar* "he brought

12 Cf. also RV 4.50.2a, where the Aṅgirasas are called *dhunétayah* 'those of noisy tread'.

13 The same metaphor may underlie RV 1.18.7d *sá dhīmān yógam invati* "he drives the team of insightful thoughts"; RV 1.190.4ab *asyá ślóko divyate prthivyām*, *átyo ná yaṃsad yakṣabhīd vícetāḥ* "when his signal-call speeds in heaven and on earth like a steed, the discriminating one [= Bṛhaspati?], bringing wondrous apparitions, will control it, *like a steed—". The imaginary of 'chariot' and 'ride' in connection with speech and the poetic is well developed in Vedic as well as in Greek, where it underlies a variety of metaphors (cf. Massetti 2019:194–199).

up the ruddy [cows]" [4d]; *úd usrīyā asṛjata* "he loosed the ruddy ones upward" [8d]) and a cattle theft (*á gā amuṣṇāt* "he stole the cows" [6d]). Elsewhere the *base collocation* [HERO-LEADS/DRIVES ([*sam-*]/[*ud-*])aj]-GOODS] summarizes the final achievement of the Vala-myth, cf. RV 2.24.3c *úd gā ājat* "he drove up the cattle" (cf. RV 4.50.5cd, 10.68.7d), RV 6.73.3a *bṛhaspātīḥ sám ajayad vásūni* "Bṛhaspati entirely conquered [= carried off together] goods" (cf. chapter 9, sections 3.3–4).¹⁴

The combination of different images (the cows, the gate-opening, Vala) creates a series of metaphors, namely: (i) [COWS] : [POETIC SPEECH/POETIC INSPIRATION], (ii) [COWS] : [LIGHT/LIGHT-BEAMS], (iii) [COWS] : [WATERS].¹⁵

(i) 'Cows' are a metaphoric designation of 'speech/verbal art' (e.g. RV 10.64.12), cf. the expression 'hidden track(s) of the cow', a common poetic designation for the cryptic meanings of the verbal art.¹⁶ At the same time, like cows in a stable, inspired thoughts are imagined to pass through 'poetic doors', cf. RV 9.10.6 *āpa dvārā matīnām, pratnā ṛṇvanti kāravaḥ | vṛṣṇo hārāsa āyāvaḥ* "the ancient bards thrust open the doors of poetic thoughts—the Āyus for the raging of the bull". Elsewhere, Bṛhaspati is said to have pierced a cistern 'containing streams of honey'. It is possible that this image too hints at poetic art, since 'poetry' is often associated with the notion of 'sweetness',¹⁷ cf. RV 2.24.4ab *ásmāsyam avatām bráhmaṇas pátir, mádhudhāram abhíyám ójasātṛṇat* "the cistern with its mouth of stone, containing streams of honey, which the Lord of the Sacred Formulation drilled out by his power".¹⁸ In RV 10.68, Bṛhaspati

14 Vala is also imagined as a 'mountain filled with goods', cf. RV 2.24.2d *á cáviśad vásumantaṁ ví párvataṁ* "he entered into and throughout the mountain filled with goods". For Bṛhaspati as carrying away the stakes cf. RV 2.24.9, 13. In RV 10.68 the collection of the cows is imagined as a sort of extraction and described through a set of articulated metaphors: strewing (3), blowing of the wind (5), eating (6), carving (8), healing (9).

15 Additionally, in RV 10.68.2 the action of Bṛhaspati reuniting the Aṅgirasas with their cows is compared to a wedding, cf. chapter 9, section 3.4.

16 Geldner 1951–1957 ad loc., Watkins 1995:72.

17 Poetic art is associated with the idea of 'sweetness' and 'honey' (the sweet substance *par excellence*) in several IE traditions, cf. e.g. RV 1.78.5 *āvocāma ráhūgaṇā, agnāye mádhumad vácaḥ | dyumnáir abhí prá ṇonumaḥ* "we Rāhūgaṇas have spoken a honeyed speech to Agni.— We keep bellowing to (him), with éclat". For IE parallels, with special attention to the choral lyric phraseology, cf. Massetti 2019:3–7, 78–79. The image of RV 2.24 might vaguely recall Ba. fr. 29.12–14.

18 Cf. also RV 4.50.3cd *túbhyaṁ khātā avatā ádridugdā, mádhva ścotantīy abhito virapśám* "for you do the deep-dug springs, milked by the stone, drip an abundance of honey all about", RV 10.68.8ab *áśnāpinaddham mádhū páry apaśyan, mātasya ná dīnāudáni kṣi-yántam* "he caught sight of the honey enclosed by the stone, like a fish living in shallow water".

is explicitly said to have ‘brought to mind’ the “hidden name of the milk-cow”, another common kenning for ‘poetic speech’,¹⁹ cf. RV 10.68.7ab *bṛhaspátir ámata hí tyád āsām , nāma svarīṇām sádane gúhā yát* “for Br̥haspati brought to mind this very name of these who were resounding (with)in the seat–(the name) that was hidden”. The mission to find the cows thus configures as the mission for ‘the art of the word’, ‘poetry’ and ‘poetic inspiration’, cf.

RV 4.1.15–16ab

15. *té gavyatā mānasā dṛdhrām ubdhām*
gā́ yemānām pári śántam ádrim
dṛlham náro vácasā datyena
vrajām gómantam uś̥jo ví vavruḥ
16. *té manvata prathamām nāma dhenós*
trīḥ saptá mātúḥ paramāṇi vindan

Those with their mind set on cattle (opened up) the solid, knotted-up, enclosing stone that held the cows. The firmly fixed pen full of cows did the men, the fire-priests, open up with divine speech. They brought to mind the first name of the milk-cow; thrice seven highest (names) of the mother they found.

Since the correlation between the act of ‘searching for the cows’ and that of ‘discovering of the cow’s name(s)’ poetically describes the dynamics of the creative process,²⁰ the Vala-myth configures as a myth which is ultimately about the discovery of artistic inspiration.

At the same time, since the image of ‘opening the gates’ combines with that of ‘seeking the light’ (Ved. *jyótir ichán*) in RV 10.67.4c, (ii) the passage may be

19 Jackson [Rova] 2006:127.

20 The correlation between musical/poetic invention and quest for the cows is similar to the plot of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*: Hermes goes after Apollo’s cows but he invents the lyre, which he will later exchange for the cows, cf. HH 4.22–25 ἀλλ’ ὁ γ’ ἀναίξας ζήτει βόας Ἀπόλλωνος [...] ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρών ἐκτήσατο μυρίον ὄλβον· || Ἑρμῆς τοι πρῶτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ’ αἰοιδόν “but he sprang up and sought Apollo’s cows [...] he found a tortoise there and gained endless happiness. For it was Hermes who first made the tortoise a singer”. On HH 4 as a Greek comparandum for the Vala-myth cf. Jackson [Rova] 2014. The same sequence of events is found in the Ossetic story concerning the invention of the *fændyr*, a chord instrument: Syrdon steals the cow of another Nart, who searches for it, and kills Syrdon’s sons, after discovering that Syrdon is the thief. Syrdon builds the *fændyr* with the bones of his sons and performs with that the funeral rite. Afterwards, he bestows the *fændyr* to the Narts, who, delighted by this gift, accept him as one of them (cf. Massetti [forthc./a]).

hinting at sun-rising and the sacrifice, which is performed daily at dawn.²¹ Agni, Uṣas, and the Sun are commonly imagined as the gods who ‘open the doors of darkness’ or ‘the stony doors of heaven’, cf. e.g. RV 3.5.1d *āpa dvārā tāmaso vāhnir āvaḥ* “as the draft-horse ... [Agni] has opened the doors of darkness”; RV 4.51.2cd *vṛ̥ṣṇā vrājāsya tāmaso dvārā, u chāntīr avrañ chūcayāḥ pāvakāḥ* “they [: the Dawns] have unclosed the doors of the enclosure of darkness as they dawn, blazing and pure”, RV 5.45.1 *vidā divo viśyānn ādrim ukthair, āyat yā uśāso arcīno guḥ | āpāvṛta vrājīnir út sāvāḥ gād, ví dūro mānuṣīr devā āvaḥ* “through knowledge unloosing the stone of heaven with hymns—the shining (beacons) of the approaching dawn come (out of it) he uncloses (the doors) to the enclosures: the Sun comes up. The god has opened up the doors belonging to the sons of Manu”. In connection with the metaphor [COWS] : [RAYS OF LIGHT] the use of the Ved. adj. *usrā-* ‘ruddy’ in (4d) (a thematic delocative derivative of *uśās-* ‘dawn’) should be highlighted. As the term is homophone of *usrā-* ‘calf’, it is not always possible to distinguish between *usrā-*₁ ‘dawn, ruddy’ and *usrā-*₂ ‘calf’ (EWAia I 239), especially because *usrā-*₁ often applies to dawn’s cows, i.e. Uṣas’ light-beams (Campanile 1986). The metaphorical overlap [COWS] : [LIGHT BEAMS] may also be confirmed by texts which connect Bṛhaspati with the creation of light (the sun, the dawn, the fire). Since sacrifices are performed every day at dawn, Bṛhaspati, the inventor of the first sacrifice, is said to have hidden darkness and have made the sun visible, cf. RV 2.24.3d *āgūhat tamo vṛ̥ṣṇā cakṣayat sāvāḥ* “he hid the darkness and made the sun visible”, to have pressed away darkness and mounted on “the chariot of ṛta, which is light-bearing and sun-finding” (RV 2.23.3bd *jyōtiśmantam rātham ṛtāsya [...]* *sāvāḥ*), to have blown darkness apart or driven it away, cf. RV 4.50.4cd *rāveṇa ... ví ... adhamat tāmāṁsi* “(sc. Bṛhaspati) blew apart the dark shades with his roar”, RV 10.68.5ab *āpa jyōtiṣā tamo antārikṣād, udnāḥ śīpālam iva vāta ājat* “with his light he drove away the darkness from the midspace as the wind drives the śīpāla-plant from the water”.²²

Finally, (iii) ‘cows’ are often compared to ‘waters’. This metaphor creates an overlap between the Vala-myth and the Vṛtra-myth, in which Indra kills ‘the encloser’ (Vṛtra, a further derivative of IE **uel-* ‘to enclose, envelop’) and frees the waters (cf. chapter 9, sections 3.3–4). Such a mythological correspondence is particularly evident in passages like RV 2.23.18cd *indreṇa yujā tāmāsā pārīvṛtam, bṛhaspate nīr apām aubho arṇavām* “with Indra as your yokemate, Bṛhaspati, you forced out the flood of waters, enclosed by darkness”. In the

21 Cf. RV 2.24.5, with reference to the creation of the sacrifice and its cosmologic consequences.

22 Cf. also RV 10.68.9.

framework of the same association of images, Bṛhaspati is said to search for the sun and the waters, cf. RV 6.73.3c *apáh śiṣāsana sāvār ápratītaḥ* “when he sets out to win the waters and the sun, (Bṛhaspati) is unopposable”.

5 This stanza recalls the main achievements of Bṛhaspati: the god split Vala and found the most precious cosmic treasures. The collocation *vibhidyā púram* “having split apart the stronghold”, (5a), in which Ved. *púr-* ‘stronghold’ hints at Vala as the ‘enclosure’, may be recognized as a varied version of the myth’s base collocation [_{HERO}-(*vi*-)*bhed*-*valá*-*ádri*-_{acc.}], cf. e.g. RV 2.11.20d *bhinád valám índro áṅgirasvān* “together with the Aṅgirasas, Indra split the Vala cave”, RV 6.73.1ab *adribhít ... bṛhaspátīḥ* “he who is splitter of the stone ... Bṛhaspati”.²³ In 5b *trīṇi* ‘the three’ may allude to the dawn, the sun, and the cow (Geldner 1951–1957, Jamison–Brereton 2014), i.e. the three elements which Bṛhaspati extracts from Vala (see above [4], metaphor [ii]).

Hence, 5c could be taken as a clarification of *trīṇi*, cf. *bṛhaspátir uśasaṃ sūryaṃ gām* [*viveda* (d)] “Bṛhaspati [found] the dawn, the sun, the cow”. As already anticipated, Ved. *ved* in 5d (*arkám viveda stanáyann iva dyaúḥ* “he [found] the chant while he was thundering like heaven”) builds a lexical repetition with *pāda* 1ab (cf. section 2 above).

Ved. *arká-* (5d) is the ‘blazing chant’ (cf. IE **h₂erk^u-* ‘to shine, sing’, LIV² 240–241, IEW 340, cf. Ved. *arc* ‘to sing’, Hitt. *arku-* ‘id.’ [as *per* Melchert 1998], TA *yārksāt* ‘he worshipped’) and probably alludes to the chant performed at the fire-ritual. In RV 10.68.4, Bṛhaspati is compared to the ‘firebrand of heaven’, cf. RV 10.68.4 *āpruṣāyān mādhunā rtāsya yónim , avakṣipānn arká ulkām iva dyóḥ / bṛhaspátir uddhárann áśmano gā , bhūmyā udnéva ví tvácam bibheda* “spraying the womb of truth with honey, flinging (it = honey?) down like a firebrand from heaven when the chant (sounded), Bṛhaspati, when he brought the cows up out of the stone, split asunder the skin of the earth as if (just) with water”, while the god’s chant is said to be ‘fire-hot’ in RV 10.68.6ab *yadā valásya pṛyato jásum bhéd , bṛhaspátir agnitápobhir arkáḥ* “when Bṛhaspati split the feebleness of taunting Vala with his fire-hot chants ...”

6 In this stanza Indra is said to have cut apart Vala, which is here personified, cf. *rakṣitāraṃ dūghānām* “the guard over the milkers” (6a). Indra smashes Vala using the same means as Bṛhaspati, i.e. the roar (*karṇeva ... ráveṇa* “with the roar as a tool” [6b]). While 6c alludes to the search for the cows (cf. Ved. *ichá-*

23 Cf. also RV 2.24.3c *ábhinad bráhmaṇā valám* “he split the cave by the sacred formulation”, RV 10.68.6, 10.68.7cd.

TABLE 9 *Rigveda* 10.67, distribution of divine names

1–2:	no name	:	introduction + focus on the Aṅgirasas
3b–4b–5b:	Bṛhaspati	:	focus on Bṛhaspati
6a:	Indra	:	focus on Indra
7b:	Brahmanas pati	:	focus on Indra-Brahmanas pati
8b–9b–10b:	Bṛhaspati	:	focus on Bṛhaspati
11:	no name	:	invocation
12:	Indra	:	focus on Indra

mānaḥ “seeking” [6c]), in 6d Indra is said to have made his enemy lament for the loss of his cows (cf. *arodayat paṇīm* “he made the niggard lament” [6d]). A similar motif occurs in RV 10.68.10ab *himéva paṇṇá muṣitá vānāni*, *bṛhaspát-inākṛpayad való gāḥ* “as the woods (lament) their leaves stolen by cold, Vala lamented for the cows (stolen) by Bṛhaspati”.

As pointed out by Jamison–Brereton 2014:1488, the position of Indra’s name at 6a suggests that the figures of Indra and Bṛhaspati overlap: Ved. *índraḥ* is the first word of 6a and 12a. Bṛhaspati’s name too occupies a fixed position throughout the hymn, i.e. it occurs in the initial position of the second part of the first half of 3, 4, and 5 ([3b], [4b], [5b]), and in the initial position of the first part of the second half of 8, 9, and 10 ([8c], [9c], [10c]). The collocation *bráhmanas páti*– “Lord of the Sacred Formulation”, which is the synchronic etymology of Bṛhaspati, takes the same place (initial word of the second part of the first half) in stanza 7. The distribution of divine names is almost perfectly symmetrical throughout the hymn and gives emphasis to the overlap Indra : Brahmanas pati : Bṛhaspati, as illustrated in TABLE 9, above.

7 *satyéhiḥ sákhibhiḥ śucádbhiḥ* “with his trusty comrades blazing” (7a) vaguely recalls *hamsaír iva sákhibhir vávadadbhiḥ* “along with his comrades, who were constantly gabbling” (3a). The poet seems to play with the poetic image of the ‘blazing chant’: the Aṅgirasas are ‘constantly gabbling’ (3a) and thus they ‘blaze’ (*śucádbhiḥ*, [7a]). In this strophe Vala is again personified and defined ‘cow-nurturer’ (*gódhāyasam*, [7b]).

The verb (*ví*)-*dar*, cf. *ví ... adardaḥ* “he cleaved apart” (7b), also applies to Vala in RV 1.62.4d *valám ráveṇa darayo dáśagvaiḥ* “with a roar you cleft Vala with the Daśagvas”.²⁴ As already anticipated (see above, [6]) 7c contains the synchronic etymology of the name Bṛhaspati (*bráhmanas pátiḥ* [7c]), while the

24 Cf. also RV 2.24.2b, 6.73.2c. Ved. *roj* is found in RV 4.18.6d and 4.50.5b.

roaring of the god and/or his utterances are portrayed as bulls (*vṛṣabhiḥ*, [7c]) and boars (*varāhaiḥ*, [7c]), i.e. as bellowing (RV 4.56.1+)²⁵ and snorting animals (RV 6.61.2+).

8 If, in the incipit of the hymn, Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgirasas are associated with the notion of ‘truth’ as ‘correctness’ (*rtá-*, cf. 1b, 2a), here they are connected with the idea of ‘truth’ as ‘authenticity’—*satyéna mānasā* “with trusty mind” [8a] includes the adj. *satyá-*, which reflects **h₁s-ntjo-*, cf. IE **h₂es-* ‘to be’ (LIV² 241–242, IEW 340–341).

In 8a Vala is again personified as a *gópati-* ‘cowherd’. Ved. *dhībhiḥ* “with insightful thoughts” (Jamison–Brereton 2014)/“with poetic thoughts” (my translation) (8b) recalls *dhíyam* (1a) and *dídhyānāḥ* (2a), while in 8d the expression *úd usríyā asṛjata* “he loosed the ruddy ones upward” is reminiscent of (4d) *úd usrá ākar* “he brought up the ruddy ones”.

9 The focus shifts on the officiants (*madema* “we would celebrate”, in [9d]) who are singing Bṛhaspati, the god “who roars like a lion” (*siṃhām iva nānadatam* [9b], cf. above [3], [5d]). The stanza creates a partial overlap between the role of the Aṅgirasas, who honour (Indra/)Bṛhaspati because he split Vala, and that of the priests honouring the god in the present. In this connection, note the use of (9a) *tām vardháyanto matibhiḥ śivābhiḥ* “strengthening him with propitious thoughts”, with *matí-* being related to *mananta* ([2d], cf. IE **men-* ‘to think’, LIV² 435–436, IEW 746–748) and belonging to the same semantic sphere of *dhṛ-* (1a), *dídhyānāḥ* (2a), and *dhībhiḥ* (8b).

The last pāda defines (Indra/)Bṛhaspati *bháre-bhare ... jiṣnúm* “victorious in every ride” (9d) and may be compared to RV 2.23.13ab *bháreṣu hávyo nāmasopasádyo*, *gántā vājeṣu sánitā dhánaṃ-dhanam* “who is to be invoked in raids and to be approached with reverence, who goes among the prizes of victory and wins every stake” (cf. also RV 6.73.2d).

For *tām vardháyanto matibhiḥ śivābhiḥ ... bṛhaspátiṃ vṛṣaṇam* “with our propitious thoughts strengthening him, ever roaring like a lion” (9a), (9c), cf. the next stanza and RV 1.190.1ab *anarvāṇaṃ vṛṣabhám mandrájihvam*, *bṛhaspátiṃ vardhayā náyam arkaíḥ* “with chants I will strengthen anew the unassailable bull of gladdening tongue, Bṛhaspati”.

10 This stanza mirrors the preceding one: it begins with a mention of (Indra/)-Bṛhaspati’s omniform prize (*vájam ... viśvárūpam* “the prize of all forms” [10a])

25 Cf. RV 6.73.1d *á ródasi vṛṣabhó roravīti* “the bull [Bṛhaspati] keeps bellowing to the two world-halves”.

TABLE 10 *Rigveda* 10.67, stanzas 9 and 10

9a	<i>vardháyantaḥ</i>	::	10c	<i>vardháyantaḥ</i>
9a	<i>matíbhiḥ śívábhiḥ</i>	::	10c	<i>bíbhrato jyótir āśá</i>
9b	<i>sadhásthe</i>	::	10b	<i>sádma</i>
9c	<i>bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam</i>	::	10c	<i>bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam</i>
9d	<i>bhāre-bhare ... jiṣṇúm</i>	::	10a	<i>vájam āsanad viśvárūpam</i>

and moves to Bṛhaspati's ascent to heaven (*á dyám áruḁsat* "he mounted to heaven" [10b]). Significantly, the god is associated with the cow *viśvárūpa-* in RV 1.161.6b (*bṛhaspátir viśvárūpām úpājata* "Bṛhaspati drove near [the cow] of all forms"). Moreover, he is identified as a 'bull of all forms' in RV 3.62.6 (*vṛṣabhám carṣaṇūn āám*, *viśvárūpam ádābhṃyam* | *bṛhaspátim váreṇṃyam* "to the bull of the settled domains, having all forms, undeceivable, Bṛhaspati worthy to be chosen ...").

The stanza closes with the poets 'strengthening' Bṛhaspati through their words (*vardháyantaḥ* [10c]) (Indra/)Bṛhaspati (with *bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam* [10c] identical to *bṛhaspátim vṛṣaṇam* [9c]). The final part of the stanza focuses on the priests 'who carry the light in their mouths' (*bíbhrato jyótir āśá* [10d]). According to Jamison–Brereton 2014, "the final pāda of verse 10 alludes to the different poetic skills and styles of the mortal celebrants". One may note that the fire-mouthed priests performing the Vedic ritual overlap with 'blazing' Aṅgirasas (cf. *śúcádbhiḥ* [7a]). As TABLE 10 makes evident, stanzas 9 and 10 display a set of lexical and semantic repetitions, which are disposed in an almost perfectly symmetrical way.

11 Ayāsyā Āṅgīrasa expresses the wish for vigour (11a) and help (11b) as well as his hope of avoiding troubles (11c). In d, the poet addresses the *ródasī* 'two world-halves', i.e. heaven and earth, for hearing. These two cosmic entities are addressed again in (12d).

12 The name of Indra occurs in the same initial position as in 6a. Two heroic deeds of the god are mentioned, namely: the splitting apart of Arbuda's head (*ví mūrdhānam abhinad arbudásya* "split apart the head of Arbuda" [12b]) and the victory over Vṛtra, which culminates with the liberation of the waters (*áhann áhim áriṇāt sapta sīndhūn* "he let flow the seven streams" [12c]).

Ved. *áhann áhim* "he smashed the serpent" (12c) is the *base collocation* of Indra's combat against Vṛtra (cf. e.g. RV 1.32, in which this myth is treated *in extenso*). As first pointed out by Renou (1934:110–111), in the *base colloc-*

ation of this myth, [HERO-KILLS-SERPENT], Ved. *han* mostly expresses ‘to kill’. However, Ved. *bhed* substitutes the root *han* in a number of cases (see chapter 9, section 2.3.3). In an analogous way, (*vi-*)*bhed* is regularly employed in connection with the heroic deed at Vala, but *han* is sporadically associated with (Indra/)Bṛhaspati’s accomplishments, cf. *amīvahán-* ‘who smashing afflictions’ (Bṛhaspati in RV 1.18.2a), *ghnán vṛtrāṇi* “smashing obstacles (= Vṛtras)” (RV 6.73.2c), *bṛhaspátir hánt; y amútram arkaiḥ* “Bṛhaspati smites the foe with his chants” (RV 6.73.3d).

The name of Arbuda, here probably identified with a flood, cf. (12ab) *maható arṇavásya ... arbudásya* “of the great flood ... of Arbuda”, occurs seven times in the *Rigveda* applying to an enemy defeated by Indra. The details of the heroic deed, however, are not easily reconstructable: Indra is said to have laid Arbuda low (RV 2.11.20ab), to have trampled him underfoot (RV 1.51.6c), and to have pressed him down to the depths (RV 2.14.4c). Elsewhere, however, Indra drives away Arbuda’s cows (RV 8.3.19cd *árbudasya ... gá ājah* “you [: Indra] drove the cows of Arbuda”). Finally, in RV 8.32, Indra is first invoked to undermine the topside of Arbuda (RV 8.32.3ab *ny árbudasya viṣṭápam ... tira* “undermine the topside of Arbuda”) and then said to have pierced his enemy with snow (RV 8.32.26c *himénāvidhyad árbudam* “with snow he pierced Arbuda”). In 12b, *ví mūrdhānam abhinad arbudásya*, the reference to the enemy’s head as being split by Indra is reminiscent of the splitting of Vala (cf. Ved. [*vi-*]*bhed*, on which see above [5]). At the same time, the image of Arbuda’s head builds a semantic repetition with that of the seven-headed poetic thought (*dhíyam saptásīrṣṇīm* [1a], cf. section 2 above). The poem finally concludes with an invocation to Heaven and Earth (*devaír dyāvāprthivī prāvataṃ naḥ* “O Heaven and Earth, along with the gods, further us” [12d]).

How to Find a Song of Multiple Heads: Collocations in Context

Common traits between Perseus' slaying of Medusa and Indra/Bṛhaspati's destruction of Vala concern:

1. The features of the enemy and his/her abode (mytho-geography);
2. The association with the *base collocation* [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT];
3. The association with the collocation [HERO–DRIVES away–GOODS (cattle, women etc.)];
4. The acoustic dimensions of the narratives.

Cumulative evidence concerning these details supports the comparison between the myth of *Pythian Twelve* and that of *Rigveda* 10.67. My analysis will show that the two stories are built with the same phraseological and thematic stock. Moreover, the reference to Greek and Old Indic passages concerning the dynamics of exchange between the laudandus (Greece)/patron (India) and the poet (Greece)/poet-sacrificer (India) will make evident that the same state of things underlies both *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67. These mythological accounts are ultimately about poetic/musical invention as the means of attaining the best rewards, i.e. glory and prosperity.

1 Features of the Enemy and His/Her Abode (Mytho-geography)

1.1 *The Gorgons' Abode*

References to Medusa and the *gorgoneion* are attested in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,¹ but we first learn something about the Gorgons' genealogy and geograph-

1 *Il.* 5.741 mentions the Gorgon's head as a part of Athena's aegis; in *Il.* 8.349 the Gorgon's eyes are a term of comparison for Hector's gaze; in *Od.* 11.36 the Gorgon figures as a decoration of a shield. Finally, *Od.* 11.364 associates the Gorgon's head with the underworld. In Antiquity there was a tradition on Medusa abiding in the underworld. Rohde 1894–1898: 11 408 proposes that Γοργύρα, who, according to [Apollod.] 1.5.3, DFHG 108 bore Ascalaphus to the underworld river Acheron, is a netherworld stand-in for the Gorgon. Euripides calls the Gorgon (i.e. Medusa) χθονία (*Ion* 1053–1054) because he follows a tradition, according to which she is the daughter of the Earth, not because she lives in the netherworld (see below).

ical location from Hesiod's *Theogony*. In Hesiod, Medusa, Euryale, and Sthenno are the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto and live in the furthest West, beyond the stream of Ocean,² cf.

Hes. *Th.* 270–276

Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητώ γραίας τέκε καλλιπαρήους [...]
Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
ἔσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἔν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι,
Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρύαλη τε Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα

Then to Phorcys Ceto bore beautiful-cheeked old-women (: the Graeae)
... and the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean at the edge toward
the night, where the clear-voiced Hesperides are, Sthenno and Euryale,
and Medusa who suffered woes.

TRANSL. MOST 2018

Despite isolated variants and some different details, the literary sources in our possession allow us to recognize a general tendency. With the exception of Euripides, who, in *Ion* 988–989, states that Medusa was born by the Earth (Γῆ) in Phlegra,³ the Gorgons are said to dwell in a place that is situated far away in space and close to waters (the sea, a stream or a lake).

According to a fragment from the *Cypria*, they live on the island Sarpedon, cf. *Cypr.* 32.1–3 τῷ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκε Γοργόνας, αἰνὰ πέλωρα, || αἱ Σαρπηδόνα ναῖον ἐν ὠκεανῷ βαθυδίνῃ || νῆσον πετρήεσσιν “and she conceived and bore him the Gorgons, terrible monsters, who dwelt on the island of Sarpedon on the deep-swirling Ocean, a rocky island” (transl. West 2003a).⁴

In contrast, Herodotus and Aeschylus locate them in Libya. Recounting Egyptian accounts about Perseus, Herodotus (2.91) ascribes the tradition of the Libyan Gorgon to “the Greeks”, cf. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίνην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οἷσόντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν “... when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya ...” (transl. Godley 1920–1925). A fragment summarizing the plot of Aeschylus' *Phorcydes*⁵ situates the Graeae in Libya, cf. Aeschl. *TrGF* 262 Περσεύς ... λαβὼν ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Τριτωνίδα Λίμνην, καὶ οὕτως ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς

2 According to Croon 1955:10, Hesiod locates the Gorgons near the entrance to the underworld.

3 Φλέγρᾳ ... ἐνταῦθα Γοργόν' ἔτεκε Γῆ. Cf. Theon P. Oxy. 2536, on which see Calvani 1973 and Ucciardello 2012:119–126.

4 Cf. also Hsch. γ 845a LC Γοργίδες αἱ Ὠκεανίδες.

5 Cf. Goins 1997, who proposes 461 or 460 BCE as a date for the tetralogy.

Γοργόνας ὑπνωκυίας ἀφείλετο τῆς Μεδούσης τὴν κεφαλὴν “Perseus ... took it (sc. the eye of the Graeae) and threw it in Lake Tritonis, and so, when he arrived to the Gorgons, who were sleeping, he took away Medusa’s head”.⁶ We know from other sources that the Graeae barred the way to those trying to reach the Gorgons’ dwelling.⁷ Therefore, even though the fragment in question does not provide us with any information about the Gorgons’ location, Perseus is probably imagined as near or passing Lake Tritonis before reaching Medusa’s abode.

Finally, in the *Prometheus Bound*, the Gorgons are said to live in the extreme East (Mysia), beyond the sea, cf. [Aeschl.] *PV* 791–794 ὅταν περάσῃς ῥέϊθρον ἡπέιροιν ὄρον, || πρὸς ἀντολὰς φλογώπας ἡλιοστιβεῖς || πόντου περῶσα φλοῖσβον, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐξίκῃ || πρὸς Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης “when you have crossed the stream that bounds the two continents, toward the flaming East, where the sun walks, crossing the surging sea until you reach the Gorgonean plains of Cisthene” (transl. Sommerstein 2009b).

1.2 Which Tradition(s) Does Pindar Follow?

It is not completely clear which tradition Pindar is following in each of the passages referencing the Gorgons’ myth. In *Pythian Ten*, Perseus’ victory against Medusa is mentioned after a digression about the hero’s visit to the Hyperborean people (cf. section 2.2 below). However, the context gives us no clue to the geographical position of the Gorgons nor of the Hyperboreans.⁸ In *Pythian Twelve*, the Gorgons are the three daughters of Phorcus (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 11, 13). Nevertheless, their mytho-geographical location remains obscure. An allusion to the monsters’ abode might be recovered from the *Fourth Dithyramb*. However, the context of the passage is too fragmentary to allow any definitive conclusion. If we follow Lavecchia 2000:231 and integrate γ]ύαλα μιν[νῦάν in fr. 70d.9 (= *Dith.* 4.9),⁹ the *Fourth Dithyramb* might refer to Libya as the Gorgons’ location. *Olympian Thirteen* and a fragmentary passage of the *First Dithyramb* seem to connect the Gorgons and the sea, although this does not automatically imply that Pindar commits to the same tradition as the one he uses for *Pythian Twelve*.

6 Cf. also Luc. *Mar.* 14, D.S. 3.54, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.12.

7 The same version of the story is attested in [Erat.] *Cat.* 22, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.12. A different version is found in Pher. 44: Perseus steals the Graeae’s eye, but he returns it to them after they disclose to him the location of the Nymphs, who bestow the winged sandals, Hades’ helmet and the κίβισις to him. On the Graeae and Perseus cf. Oakley 1988:383–391.

8 The order in which these two events occur in *Pythian Ten* has been subject of debate since Antiquity, cf. Σ *P.* 10.72b Dr. On the verses cf. Bernardini 2006⁴:638.

9 Differently Lobel: γ]ύαλα μι[δέα followed by van der Weiden 1991:56.

In *Olympian Thirteen* we read that Bellerophon tamed Pegasus, son of Medusa, ‘beside the spring’, cf.

O. 13.63–64

ὅς τὰς ὀφιδέος υἱ-

ὄν ποτε Γοργόνος ἦ πόλλ’ ἀμφὶ κρουνοῖς

Πάγασον ζεύξαι ποθέων ἔπαθεν

(Sc. Bellerophon) who once suffered much indeed in his yearning to yoke Pegasus, the snaky Gorgon’s son, beside the spring.

The landscape detail alludes to the folk-etymology of Πήγασος (Att.-Ion.)/Πάγασος (non-Att.-Ion.), as it is preserved in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, which had the name Pegasus deriving from Gk. πηγῇ (Att.-Ion.)/παγά (non-Att.-Ion.) ‘water-spring’,¹⁰ cf.

Hes. *Th.* 281–283

... καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος

τῷ μὲν ἐπώνυμον ἦεν, ὅτ’ Ὀκεανοῦ περὶ πηγᾶς

γένθ’ (ο) ...

... and the horse Pegasus who is called so because he was born near the springs of Ocean.

It is reasonable to assume that, in Pindar’s *Olympian Thirteen*, Bellerophon finds Pegasus ‘close to the spring’ because Medusa gave birth to him there. If this deduction is correct, in at least one case Pindar follows a tradition in which Medusa was beheaded by Perseus close to a water spring.¹¹ Since the reference to Pegasus’ mother and the folk-etymological allusion speak in favour of Pindar making an innuendo to the *Theogony*, we may infer that, at least in *Olympian Thirteen*, the poet concurs with Hesiod in locating the Gorgons and Medusa’s progeny close to the ‘springs of Ocean’.

10 Cf. Starke 1990:103–106, Hutter 1995, who propose that Gk. Πήγασος is a borrowing from Luwian *Piḫaššašši* ‘brilliant’ (an epithet of the Storm-god, from IE *b^heh₂- ‘to shine’).

11 It is certainly possible to reconstruct a different scenario, though overcomplicated and wildly speculative: one could imagine that Medusa gave birth to Pegasus in a certain location and later on Pegasus moved close to a water spring, i.e. a different location, where Bellerophon tamed him. This claim, however, is not supported by any textual element.

Pindar's *Dithyramb One* may also contain a trace of the link between the Gorgons and the sea, cf.

fr. 70a.15–17 (= *Dith.* 1.15–17)

λέγοντι δὲ βροτοί

[] α φυγόντα νιν καὶ μέλαν ἔρκος ἄλμας

κορᾶν] Φόρκοιο

I agree with D'Alessio (1995:271) and Lavecchia (2000:103), who propose that 15–17 include a reference to the Gorgons.¹² In this scenario, the passage may be rendered “the mortals say that he (i.e. Perseus), having fled even the black brine-enclosure of the maidens(?) of Phorcus ...”

If this interpretation is correct, Pindar is locating the Gorgons near the ‘brine-enclosure’ (ἔρκος ἄλμας),¹³ i.e. ‘the sea’. The *iunctura* reflects a ‘type ἔρκος ὀδόντων’ (‘the enclosure of the teeth’, a common substitution kenning for ‘mouth’ or ‘lips’ in Homer),¹⁴ i.e. a collocation [ἔρκος–X_{gen.}], in which ἔρκος is followed by a genitive of material.¹⁵ The structural similarity between ἔρκος ἄλμας and ἔρκος ὀδόντων may appear to us even more remarkable if we take into account that both Pi. ἔρκος ἄλμας and Hom. ἔρκος ὀδόντων combine with φεύγω ‘to escape’ in a collocation [to ESCAPE (φεύγω)–from ENCLOSURE (ἔρκος_{acc.})–

12 Van der Weiden (1991), who integrates Περσέα at 16, translates “the mortals say that [Perseus] escaped to him [: Acrisius] and to the dark brine-enclosure ...”, arguing that the passage alludes to the story of Danae and Perseus being locked in a chest and sent out to sea.

13 Both members of the collocation may be etymologised in IE terms: ἔρκος ‘fence, enclosure’ is an s-stem deriving from IE **serk-* ‘to repair by weaving’ (as per Covini 2017), ἄλμα ‘salty water, brine’ a fem. abstr. to a *mo*-derivative to IE **seh₂l-* ‘salt/saline’ (cf. Gk. ἄλς ‘sea’, Lat. *salis* ‘salt’).

14 Cf. *Il.* 4.350, 9.409, *Od.* 1.64, 3.230, 5.22, 10.328, 19.492, 21.168, 23.70. The Homeric expression matches TB *tañ kemeşşepi serkentse* (10L-202b5C = B(H)S “*tvaddantapankty-*”) “set/group composed of your own teeth” (transl. Adams 2013 s.v. *serke-*, modified by me). On the Homeric-Tocharian match cf. Humbach 1967:24–26.

15 Instead of a genitive of material, the material can be sometimes expressed by means of an adjective, cf. ἔρκεϊ χαλκείῳ ‘a bronze fence’, i.e. a defence-wall (*Il.* 15.567). In other collocations with the structure [ἔρκος–X_{gen.}] the genitive specifies (i) the object warded off by the ‘enclosure, defence’, cf. ἔρκος ἀκόντων (: ‘shield’, *Il.* 15.646), ἔρκος βελέων (*Il.* 5.316+), ἔρκος πολέμοιο (*Il.* 4.299); (ii) the subject/object whom/which is defended, cf. [ἔρκος–PEOPLE_{gen.}], designating ‘the strongest warrior’, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 3.229+), for which IE parallels have been identified by Schmitt 1967:282–283, Campanile 1977:120–121, West 2007:454–455.

of SOMETHING ($X_{\text{gen.}}$): φυγόντα ... ἔρκος ἄλμας (fr. 70a.16 [= *Dith.* 1.16]), φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων (*Il.* 4.350+).¹⁶

The identification of ἔρκος ἄλμας as a substitution kenning for 'sea' is guaranteed by a Pindaric phraseological survey,¹⁷ cf. *P.* 2.80 ἀβάπτιστος εἶμι φελλὸς ὥς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἄλμας, and the compound ἀλιερκής, which applies to territories washed by the sea in *O.* 8.25 ('Aegina'), *P.* 1.18 ('Cuma's shores'), and *I.* 1.9 ('the Isthmus').¹⁸ If ἔρκος ἄλμας || κορᾶν Φόρκοιο (fr. 70a.16–17 [= *Dith.* 1.16–17]) stands for the 'sea of the Gorgons (: Phorcus' daughters)', in *Dithyramb One* Pindar might be following the same tradition as the one found in Hesiod and/or the *Cypria*, according to which the Gorgons live close to water.

1.3 The Daughters of Phorcus

The Gorgons' mythological genealogy entails an association with the idea of 'enclosure'. In the *Odyssey*, Phorcys, identified as the father of the Gorgons by Hesiod (cf. Φόρκος, in *Pi. P.* 12.13, *Dith.* 1),¹⁹ is eponymous to 'Phorcys' harbour', a bay in Ithaca, where two headlands protect the ships from the winds, cf.

¹⁶ *Od.* 1.64, 3.230, 5.22, 19.492, 21.168, 23.70.

¹⁷ The sea is black at night. Thus, the adj. μέλας as well as the verb μελάνω apply to the 'water' of the sea, springs and waves in Homer, cf. μελάνει πόντος (*Il.* 7.64), μέλαν ... κύμα (*Il.* 23.693+), μέλαν ὕδωρ (*Il.* 2.825+), underlying the compound μελάνυδρος (*Il.* 9.14+).

¹⁸ The Pindaric compound semantically matches ON kennings for 'sea' with the structure [FENCE (*garðr*)– $X_{\text{gen.}}$], cf., especially, *hár hranngarðr* 'the high-wave enclosure' (*Steinn Óldr* 10.2), on which see Massetti 2019:16–18.

¹⁹ As pointed out by Lavecchia 2000:97, iconographic representations of Phorcus are rare, cf. *LIMC* s.v. Phorkys, which lists four representations. I think that the Boeotian black-figure bowl from Boston (= Museum of Fine Arts, cat. nr. 01.8070), late 5th c. BCE (= *LIMC* s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 326), might provide us a further image of Phorcys/Phorcus. On the vase painting, a snake-haired and snake-girdled Gorgon is escaping towards a male character, who is holding a trident and seems to be reaching for her. The trident is a standard iconographic pattern of Poseidon (cf. *LIMC* s.v. Poseidon). So, the male character represents the sea-god. Significantly, Phorcus is portrayed holding a trident on a bronze Etruscan mirror from Vulci, dated to the second half of the 4th c. BCE (Paris, Petit Palais DUT 149, cf. van der Meer 1995:164). In this image, Phorcus, located on the extreme left of the mirror and identified as Etr. <Purcius>, is pursuing Perseus, who is protected by Athena. The Boston bowl would appear to contain a scene, which immediately follows Medusa's death: while Pegasus is born from the neck of the beheaded Gorgon (on the right of the vase painting), one of Medusa's sister escapes towards Phorcus, who is somehow helping her. If my hypothesis is correct, the Boston bowl would document one of the oldest portrayals of Phorcys/Phorcus.

Od. 13.96–101

Φόρκυνος δέ τις ἐστὶ λιμὴν, ἀλίοιο γέροντος,
ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης· δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀκταὶ ἀπορρώγες, λιμένος πότι πεπτηῦται,
αἷ τ' ἀνέμων σκεπώσι δυσάων μέγα κύμα
ἔκτοθεν· ἔντοσθεν δέ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι
νῆες εὖσσελμοι, ὅτ' ἂν ὄρμου μέτρον ἵκωνται

There is in the land of Ithaca a certain **harbour of Phorcys**, the old man of the sea, and in it two projecting **headlands**, sheer to seaward, but sloping down on the side toward the harbour. These keep back the great waves raised by heavy winds outside, but inside the well-benched ships lie unmoored when they have reached the point of anchorage.²⁰

As shown by Ginevra (forthc./a),²¹ Φόρκος and Φόρκυς are nominal derivatives from IE **b^herg^h-* ‘to ward’ (LIV² 79–80, cf. IEW 145), which, among others, underlies Gk. φράσσω ‘I fence, surround’ (**b^hrg^h-je/o-*). The theme φορκ- is a secondary ‘extraction’ from the aorist stem φράξ-, which was re-analyzed as resulting from **phrak-s-*.²² Φόρκος reflects a thematic derivative **p^hórk-o-* ‘obstructing/enclosing/surrounding’, which was substantivized with accent retraction: **p^hork-ó-* > **p^hórk-o-* (Φόρκος).²³ A name meaning ‘Encloser*’ or (by a semantic extension ‘protect’ → ‘surround’) ‘Surrounder*’ could actually suit a sea-god, since Ocean himself is commonly portrayed as a ποταμός which surrounds the earth.²⁴ The thematic stem (**p^hork-ó-*) may have been remodelled into Φόρκυς in analogy to

20 Cf. Σ *Od.* 13.96 Di. V ἐφ’ ᾧ λιμένι Φόρκυνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν τοῦ θαλασσίου δαίμονος; Σ *Od.* 13.96 Di. ὁ λιμὴν οὗτος ἔκ τινος Φόρκυνος θεοῦ ποτε γέγονε καὰ τούτου τὴν κλήσιν ἔσχεν.

21 *Contra* Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. φορκόν. Frisk GEW s.v. φορκόν and φαρκίς hypothesises a meaning ‘white’ (cf. Hsch. φ 773 HC φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν ‘*phorkon*: white, grey, wrinkled’) and proposes a connection with the same root underlying MoE *bright*. However, the latter term may be traced back to IE **b^herh²ǵ-* (Kroonen 2013:60–61) or **b^herg²-* (Huld 1984:40), which is incompatible with Gk. Φόρκος/Φόρκυς. A possible reconstruction of a root **b^herk²-* (LIV² 93–94, IEW 110–111) is discarded by de Vaan 2010 s.v. *farciō* because the root shape **D^heRT* is judged as inexistent. The sequence **D^hReT-* is rare and seems to occur only with roots displaying an initial **b^h-*, cf. **b^hRek²-* ‘to whet’ (cf. LIV² 93, IEW 168).

22 It is also tantalizing to connect the Homeric expression φράξαντο ... ἔρκεϊ (*Il.* 15.566–567) and ἔρκος ἄλμας ... Φόρκαιο (fr. 70a.16–17 [= *Dith.* 1.16–17]).

23 According to Giangrande 1987:85–86, in Phan. 1.20 φόρκος is an appellative of λιμὴν.

24 See the remarks of Nagy 1990b:238–239 and Ginevra (forthc./b), on ὠκεανός and its possible formular ‘stand-in’ Ἠριδανός.

other sea-gods' names, e.g. Τηθύς, or may have been the basis for a secondary *u*-substantivation, which underlies Φόρκυς (dat.sg. Φόρκυϊ [Hes. *Th.* 270], acc.sg. Φόρκυν [Hes. *Th.* 237]). The *un*-stem (cf. gen. Φόρκυνος, acc. Φόρκυνα [Od. 13.96, *Il.* 17.312+]), built on the acc. Φόρκυν, was re-characterised (cf. acc. Φόρκυνα in *Il.* 17.312+) according to the same analogical process seen in the inflection of the name Ζεύς, acc. Ζῆν (*Il.* 8.206+) and Ζῆνα (*Il.* 14.157+). The Gorgons are thus the 'daughters of the Encloser/Surrounder*'. Significantly, the 'harbour of Phorcys' in Ithaca is an enclosure made of stones.

In the light of this mythological genealogy and the possible link with Phorcus'/Phorcys' 'closed' bay, it may also be significant that Phorcus' daughters are associated with the obstructions par excellence, i.e. rocks. According to *Cypr.* 32.1–3 (νήσον πετρήεσσιν), they live on the 'rocky island' Sarpedon.²⁵ Moreover, Medusa possesses the power of petrification,²⁶ as recalled by Pindar, cf.

P. 10.47–48

... ἦλυθε νασιώταις
λίθινον θάνατον φέρων

He (: Perseus) came to the islanders, bringing them **stony death** ...

fr. 70d.39–41 (= *Dith.* 4.39–41)

... τὸ μὲν ἔλευσεν· ἶδον τ' ἄποπτα
.....] : ἡ γὰρ [α]ὐτῶν μετὰστασιν ἄκραν[.
. θη]κε· πέτραι δ' [ἔφ]α[ν]θεν ἀντ[ι] φωτῶν

He brought it, and they saw things not to be seen. Truly he(?) made their transformation extreme(?); and **they became stones instead of humans**.

The associations with 'remoteness', 'sea-enclosure' and 'rock/stone' are significant because Perseus' enemies share these characteristics with the Paṇis and Vala, Indra's adversaries and conquest.

25 It is difficult to identify the landscape of Perseus and Medusa's episode on vase paintings preserving the scene. Perseus may be interpreted as running or flying off a rock on a black-figure amphora from Vulci, (550–500 BCE, British Museum, London, cat. nr. 302168). Elsewhere, Perseus and the Gorgons hover above the sea (cf. e.g. the Athenian black-figure skyphos from Capua, 525–475 BCE, private collection, catalogue nr. 330724).

26 Cf. e.g. Pher. 44, Lyc. 843+.

1.4 *Vala: Location and Descriptions*

The Vedic word *valá-* ‘cavern, enclosure’ matches YAv. *vara-* ‘close space’. Both terms are derivatives of the Indo-Ir. root *var₂* ‘to close, cover’ (cf. EWAia s.v. *var₂*, IE **uel-* ‘to enclose, envelop’, cf. LIV² 678, IEW 674, cf. section 2.3.1 below).²⁷ The term, which occurs twenty three times in the *Rigveda*, is applied to a stony prison, where the Paṇis, Indra’s enemies,²⁸ hide their cattle. Given its ‘enveloping’ nature, Vala is often called the ‘enclosure of cattle’ (*vrajó góh*), cf.

RV 3.30.10ab
alāṭṛṇó valá indra vrajó góh
purá hántor bháyamāno vṛ āra

Vala, the enclosure of cattle, unquiet and fearful, opened up (even) before being struck, O Indra.²⁹

The distinctive traits of Vala are diversely depicted. It is often imagined as a huge obstruction/defence, which is made of rock. Therefore, some passages refer to it as

- a ‘stronghold’ (Ved. *púr-*),³⁰ cf. RV 6.18.5d *ṛṇóh púro ví dúro asya víśvāh* ‘you opened its strongholds and its doors, all of them’;
- an enclosure provided with ‘barricades’ (Ved. *paridhí-*)³¹ cf. RV 1.52.5cd *ín-drah ... bhinád valásya paridhūṁr iva tritáh* ‘Indra ... split the barricades of the Vala cavern, as Trita had’;
- a ‘mountain fortification’ (Ved. *párvatasya dṛmhitáni*)³² cf. RV 2.15.8ac *bhinád valám áṅgirobbhir gṛṇāno , ví párvatasya dṛmhitāny airat | riṇág ró-*

27 Cf. Janda 2005:319–320.

28 The etymology of Ved. *pañi-* is unclear (cf. EWAia s.v. *pañi-*). A connection with the name Πάριοι (Strabo 11.7.1+), an Iranian people, has been repeatedly proposed, cf. Wackernagel 1918:411, Schmidt 1968:209 ff.

29 Cf. RV 1.10.7c, 1.132.4bc, 4.1.15d, 4.16.6d, 4.20.6c, 8b, 6.73.3b, 8.32.5a, 10.28.7d, 10.45.11d. In RV 4.1.13c the cows are called *áśmavraja-* ‘those with a rock as their pen’.

30 On the etymology of the term cf. Frisk GEW s.v. πόλις and Schwyzler 1939:344, who connect Ved. *púr-*, Gk. πόλις ‘city’ and Lith. *pilis* ‘castle’. For Strunk 1969 Gk. πόλις and Ved. *púr-* reflect **p_hl₁(-i-)*, whereas, according to Beekes EDG s.v. πόλις, these same terms are based on **tpol-*. Slade 2008:29–32 presents a list of passages in which the collocation [(*ví-*)*bhed-púr-acc.*] and the compound *pūrbhíd-* occur in connection with Indra. The ‘stronghold’, however, is not always identified with Vala, as the god is said to have destroyed and conquered the strongholds of different enemies.

31 Ved. *paridhí-* is lit. ‘what is set/put’ (Ved. *dhā*, Gk. τίθημι, IE **d^heh₁-*, cf. LIV² 136–138, IEW 235–239) ‘around’ (*pari*° : Gk. περί).

32 Cf. also RV 2.15.8, on which see below. Ved. *dṛmhitá-* is a derivative to the Ved. root *darh* ‘to steady’, cf. Av. *dərəz-* ‘fetter’.

dhāṃsi kṛtrīmāṇi y eṣāṃ “Being sung by the Aṅgirasas, he split the cavern. He broke apart the fortifications of the mountain and cleared their fashioned obstructions”.

Several passages emphasise the stony structure of the prison: Vala is directly called ‘the rock’ (*ádri-*)³³ or described as a ‘cistern with a mouth of stone’ (Ved. *áśmāsyā- avatá-*),³⁴ cf.

RV 6.39.2a

ayám uśānáḥ pāry ádrim usráḥ

This one here eagerly (breaks) **the rock** en(closing) the ruddy (cows)

RV 2.24.4ab

*áśmāsyam avatám bráhmanas pátir
mádhudhāram abhí yám ójasátṛṇat*

The cistern with its mouth of stone, containing streams of honey, which the Lord of the Sacred Formulation drilled out by his power.

In a further text, Vala is compared to an ἔρκος ὀδόντων (Hom., see above, section 1.2), a ‘set of teeth’, cf.

RV 10.68.6

*yadā valāsyā pýato jásum bhéd
bṛhaspátir agnitápobhir arkaiḥ
dadbhír ná jihvā pári viṣṭam ádad
āvír nidhūṃr akṛṇod usrýāṇām*

When Bṛhaspati split **the feebleness of** taunting Vala with his fire-hot chants, **he took** (the cows) as the tongue **takes** (food) **trapped by the teeth**, and he revealed the hidden treasures of the ruddy (cows).

33 Ved. *ádri-* ‘stone, rock, mountain’ reflects a compound **ṇ-dr-i-* ‘the unsplittable one’ (cf. Ved. *dar*, IE **der*, cf. LIV² 119–121, IEW 206–208). The juxtaposition of [*dar-ádri-acc.*] creates a *figura etymologica*, ‘to split the un-splittable’, in RV 4.16.8a *apó yád ádrim puruhūta dārdar* ‘when you tore open the rock for the waters, O much invoked one’.

34 *áśmāsyā-* is a compound with a FCM to Ved. *áśmān-* ‘stone’, cf. Gk. ἄσμων ‘stone’, Lith. *ašmuō* ‘edge’, a derivative from IE **h₂ek-* ‘sharp, pointed’, and a SCM to Ved. *ās-* ‘mouth’ (also ‘face’), cf. Av. *āh-* ‘mouth’, Lat. *ōs*, OIr. *ā* from IE **h₃éh₁-s-*. The etymology of Ved. *avatá-* is opaque, cf. EWAia s.v. *avatá-*, which mentions a possible connection with Gk. εὐνή ‘bed’, Latv. *avuōts* ‘spring’, or the Fr. river name *Avance*.

Finally, Vala is also personified as a demon who conceals or guards the cows, cf. RV 10.67.6a *valāṇi rakṣitāraṇi dúghānām* “Vala, the guard over the milkers”, *gódhāyasa-* “cow-nurturer” (RV 10.67.7b), *gópati-* “cowherd” (RV 10.67.8a).³⁵

Be it materialised or personified, Vala is located in the farthest region of the world, beyond the Rasā stream. The Vedic water-stream *Rasā-* (: Av. *Raṇhā-*) is said to separate the Vala from the rest of the world,³⁶ cf.

RV 10.108.1³⁷

*kīm ichántī sarāmā prédām ānaḍ
dūre hy ádhvā jáguriḥ parācaīḥ
kāsméhitiḥ ká páritakmyāsīt
kathám rasāyā ataraḥ páyāṃsi*

[Paṇi:] Seeking what has Saramā arrived here, **for far** is the road, swallowing up (the traveller) in the distance? What is your mission to us? What was the final turn (bringing you here)? **How did you cross the waters of the Rasā?**

1.5 *Features of the Enemy and His/Her Abode (Mytho-geography): Common Traits*

Three characteristics are shared by the Greek myth of the Gorgons and the Old Indic Vala-myth:

- The mytho-geographical location of the hero's adversary in a remote, unreachable place, which is located near or beyond a water stream: Hesiod situates the Gorgons beyond the Ocean (cf. Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέτρῃν κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο, Hes. *Th.* 274), the poet of the *Cypria* on the island Sarpedon (cf. Γοργόνας ... αἱ Σαρπηδόνα ναῖον ἐν Ὠκεανῷ βαθυδίτῃ, *Cypr.* 32.1–2). In *Olympian Thirteen* (ἀμφὶ κρουνοῖς, *O.* 13.63) Pindar seems to follow a Hesiodic model and in *Dithyramb One* (cf. ἔρκος ἄλμας || χορᾶν Φόρκοιο, fr. 70a.16–17 [= *Dith.* 1.16–17]) to locate the Gorgons in the sea or close to it. The rocky prison of Vala is situated beyond the Rasā stream (cf. *kathám rasāyā ataraḥ páyāṃsi*, RV 10.108.1d);

35 On Vala's lament (RV 10.68.10) cf. section 4.5 below.

36 Cf. RV 9.41.6 *pári ṇaḥ śarmayāntyā*, *dhārayā soma viśvātaḥ* / *sārā raséva* “O Soma, flow for us in a protecting stream all around on all sides, like (the heavenly river) Rasā”. On the Rasā cf. Lommel 1926. On Av. *Raṇhā* cf. Brunner 1986 [2011]. For a comparison between Av. *Raṇhā-* and Gk. *Ὠκεανός* cf. Kellens 1979:711–712.

37 RV 10.108 is a dialogic hymn, in which the Paṇis address the dog Saramā, whom Indra has sent off to find the cows.

- Perseus' and Indra's enemies are associated with the idea of [ENCLOSURE]: The Gorgons are the daughters of Phorcus, whose name means 'Encloser/Surrounder'. Phorcus is furthermore connected with the notion of '(rocky) enclosure' (cf. Φόρκυος ... λιμήν, *Od.* 13.96). Vala is 'the enclosure' par excellence (cf. Indo-Ir. *var*₂, IE **uel-* 'to enclose, envelop'). For this reason, it is materialised as 'the enclosure of the cattle' (cf. *vrajó góh*, RV 3.30.10ab), or represented as a 'barricade' (cf. *valásya paridhíh*, RV 1.52.5d), a 'stronghold' (Ved. *púr-*, RV 6.18.5d) or a container (cf. *ásmāsyam avatám*, RV 2.24.4a).
- In both myths, enemies are somehow associated with [ROCKS] and [STONES]: Medusa turns into stone whoever looks at her (cf. λίθινον θάνατον φέρων, *P.* 10.48); Vala is made of stone or even directly referred to as 'the rock' (Ved. *ádri-*).

2 Association with the Base Collocation [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT]

2.1 From Lizards to Serpents

The association with reptiles is a distinctive trait of the Gorgons. While the oldest *gorgoneia* are dated around the half of the 7th century BCE and occasionally display a snake-haired Gorgon's head,³⁸ the oldest material representation of the entire figure of the Gorgon in our possession is a relief on a Cycladic pithos found in Boeotia, dated ca. 660 BCE (FIGURE 2). Although the Gorgon is represented in a way that is different from her prevalent iconography, we might still be able to recover an association with reptiles from the analysis of the pithos. In this image, Perseus holds one of Medusa's locks in his left hand and a sword in his right. He is about to behead the Gorgon, but looks backwards to avoid her gaze. Medusa is represented as a female Centaur³⁹ and without

38 On the *gorgoneion* from Axos (Crete), which is not provided with snaky hair cf. D'Acunto 2001, who dates it to the end of the 7th century BCE. On the Corinthian *gorgoneion*-type as the model, which became prevalent in Greece in the 7th century BCE cf. Payne 1931. On the possible link between Cretan *gorgoneia* and Near Eastern models cf. Giuliano 1959–1960.

39 A Centauro-form Gorgon is found on an amethyst scarab (British Museum, catalogue nr. WA 103307). On this and other gems with a similar iconography cf. Boardman 1968:27–39. On the Gorgon's equine associations cf. Vernant 1991:116, 118–120, 124–125, 129–133, Tsi-fakis 2003:87–88, Marconi 2007:148–150, Langdon 2008:114. As for the Cycladic pithos, Howe 1954:213–214 proposes that the Gorgon's equine shape alludes to her union with Poseidon, who was worshipped as *Hippios* in Boeotia. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992:114 and Snodgrass 1998:84–88 suggest that the quadruped body of the Gorgon is a generic marker of



FIGURE 2

Cycladic pithos, ca. 660 BCE,
catalogue nr. CA 795, Musée
du Louvre, Paris

PHOTO © RMN-GRAND
PALAIS (MUSÉE DU
LOUVRE) / PHOTOGRAPH:
HERVÉ LEWANDOWSKI

any attached snakes. The background of the scene includes some plants and a lizard, two iconographic elements which art historians have given different explanations.⁴⁰ The lizard may be interpreted as a benign or apotropaic animal. However, Hurwit (2006:123–130) proposes a parallel with lizards represented on

monstrosity, recognizable as an Orientalizing iconographic pattern. Fittschen 1969:128 and Ebbinghaus 2005:63 stress that Medusa is represented with the characteristics of her progeny (Chrysaor and Pegasus). Topper 2010 proposes that an association of maidens, horses and the Gorgons lies at the basis of the equine iconography of Medusa on the Cycladic pithos.

- ⁴⁰ Vernant 1991:123, Topper 2007:86, and Langdon 2008:208 propose that the plant decorations allude to the 'meadow', in which Medusa united with Poseidon (cf. Hes. *Th.* 278–279). For Riccioni (1960:149) the floral background decorations are to be explained with the principle of the *horror vacui*. Conversely, according to Hurwit (1982), the giant flower drooping behind Medusa is an example of 'pathetic fallacy'.

vases and shields/shield-bands of the Archaic and Classical Age, which may be taken as ominous symbols of imminent death.⁴¹

Alternatively, the lizard may hint at the *Mischwesen*-nature of monsters such as the Gorgon and the Chimaera.⁴² If that is the case, the lizard on the Louvre pithos hints at an association between the Gorgon and reptiles. In fact, snakes become a standard attribute of Phorcus' daughters in literary and iconographic sources of the Archaic and Classical Age,⁴³ cf.

[Hes.] Sc. 229–234

... ταὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτόν
Γοργόνες ἄπλητοὶ τε καὶ οὐ φαταὶ ἐρρώοντο ...
... ἐπὶ δὲ ζώνησι δράκοντε
δοιῶ ἀπηωρεῦντ' ἐπικυρτώνοντε κάρηνα

The Gorgons, dreadful and unspeakable, were rushing after him ... At their girdles, two serpents hung down, their heads arching forward.⁴⁴

2.2 Reconstructing [PERSEUS–KILLS–SERPENTINE–GORGON]*

Pindar too mentions the Gorgons' snakes. In *Olympian Thirteen*, Medusa is said to be 'snakelike' (*O.* 13.63–64 ὀφιδεὸς ... Γοργόνης, cf. section 1.2 above);⁴⁵ in *Pythian Ten* and *Twelve*, Pindar explicitly locates Medusa's snakes in her hair, cf.

41 On vase paintings and shield(s)-bands) the lizard occurs in connection with murderers and murdered, e.g. the shield band from Delphi Museum, ca. 560 BCE, catalogue nr. 4479.

42 On the Middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos from the Chigi Group (attributed to the Chigi-painter or one of the related vase-painters, 650–640 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catherine Page Perkins Fund 95.10) a lizard crawls between Pegasus and the Chimaera.

43 Lizards co-occur with the Gorgon-heads again on an Attic black-figure amphora, dated ca. 540–530 BCE, preserved at Musée du Louvre, Paris (catalogue nr. F 99), cf. also LIMC s.v. Gorgo.

44 The iconography of the snake-belted Gorgons seems to match that of a bronze belt found in a woman's grave in Athens, dated to ca. the first half of the 7th c. BCE, cf. D'Onofrio (2017), who proposes that the artifact is inspired to Caucasian belts (on which cf. Castelluccia 2017).

45 The term ὀφιδεὸς 'snakelike' contains the productive suffix ὀδής, recognizable as a SCM based on IE **h₃ed-* 'to smell' (LIV² 296, IEW 772–773, cf. Gk. ὀζω 'to smell', ὀδμή 'scent'), and a FCM ὀφι^ο reflecting the inherited word for 'snake' (IE **h₃e/og^uhi-* or **h₄og^uhi-*), on whose problematic reconstruction cf. Katz 1998, Oettinger 2010a, 2010b.

P. 10.46–47

... ἔπεφνέν
τε Γοργόνα καὶ ποικίλον κάρα
δρακόντων φόβαισιν ἦλυθε νασιώταις

He killed the **Gorgon** and bearing her **head adorned with locks of serpents**, came to the islanders

P. 12.9

τὸν παρθενίους ὑπὸ τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς

From **under** the maidens' heads and **the unapproachable heads of the snakes**.

In P. 10.46, Gk. θείνω 'to kill' (IE **g^uhen-* 'id.', cf. LIV² 218–219, IEW 491–493) describes the core-event of the myth.⁴⁶ In turn, the collocation [θείνω–Γοργώ_{acc.}] underlies the adjective and MN Γοργοφόνος, cf. Hes. fr. 193.13 Γοργοφόνον θ' ἦρωα, and the WN Γοργοφόνη (Paus. 2.21.7+).⁴⁷ As Watkins (1995:364) points out, by combining the description of Medusa in O. 13.63, ὀφιδέος (section 1.2 above), and the description of Perseus' endeavour in P. 10.46 ἔπεφνεν ... Γοργόνα "he slew the Gorgon", it is possible to reconstruct a *base collocation*

[PERSEUS–KILLS (θείνω, IE **g^uhen-*)–SERPENT (ὄφις, IE **h₁og^uh-i-*) i.e. the GORGON]⁴⁸

A phraseological structure of this description would parallel the collocation [HERO–KILLS (IE **g^uhen-*)–SERPENT (IE **h₁og^uh-i-*)], which mostly applies to dragon-killings in Indo-Iranian, Germanic and Hittite mythological narratives, cf. Ved. *áhann áhim* "he killed the serpent" (RV 1.32.1c+, cf. section 2.3.3 below), Av. *janaṭ aži* "he killed Aži (the serpent)" (Y 9.8b, cf. section 3.3 below), ON

46 Differently, Hesiod specifies that the Gorgon was beheaded, cf. Hes. *Th.* 280 τῆς ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν, on which cf. West 1966:247.

47 Gorgophonos is son of Elektryon, and grandson of Perseus. According to Paus. 2.21.7+ and [Apollod.] 1.87, Gorgophone (Γοργοφόνη) is the name of Perseus' daughter. Gorgophone is also recorded as the name of one of Danaus' daughters by [Apollod.] 2.16.2+.

48 The collocation [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT] is furthermore attested in other Gk. texts, with lexical variants for 'to kill', e.g. P. 4.249 κτείνει ... ὄφιν. Ogden 2013:21 criticizes Watkins' approach.

orms einbani “the serpent’s single bane” ([= Thor], *Hym.* 22), Hitt. ^{MUS}*illuyankan* ... *kuenta* “he (sc. the Storm-god) killed Illuyanka” (CTH 321 § 24 A Rs. III 31–32).⁴⁹

2.3 *Indra’s Combats*

As illustrated by Renou (1934), the collocation [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT/ENCLOSING-ONE] describes the main event of the Vṛtra-myth.⁵⁰ But in turn this heroic deed displays a variety of similarities with the story involving Vala. In the Vṛtra-myth, Indra fights against the serpent Vṛtra and his mother Dānu. By defeating the monsters, the god sets free the waters which his enemies were keeping back.⁵¹ Some hymns mention that the Marutas, a group of storm-gods, help Indra in the battle and celebrate his victory with a shout of triumph.

The association between the Vala and the Vṛtra-myth is so strict that the two stories often merge or are represented as if they were the same heroic endeavour. Common aspects to the two accounts concern:

- (i) the main characters of the myths and their roles,
- (ii) common lexical details and/or shared associations, and
- (iii) the main events of the narratives, which are expressed by means of the same collocations.

2.3.1 Indra, His Enemies, and His Divine Escort

Since Indra is the original hero of both the Vṛtra- and the Vala-myths (cf. chapter 8, sections 1 and 4), in the *Rigveda* he is regularly referred to as ‘killer of Vṛtra’ (*vṛtrahán-*, RV 1.16.8c+) or the ‘gnawer of Vṛtra, the breaker of Vala’ (*vṛtrakhādó valamrujáḥ*, RV 3.45.2a). In post-Vedic literature, where Vala and Vṛtra are brothers, the god is addressed as *valabhíd-* ‘splitter of Vala’ and *valavṛtrahán-* ‘killer of Vala and Vṛtra’.

49 Slade 2008:42–52 argues that Ir. *kirm* ... *škāft* “the worm burst asunder” (*Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* 8.11) and OE *forwāt* ... *wyrm on middan* “he cut asunder the dragon in the middle” (*Beow.* 2705) are lexically renewed versions of IE [SPLIT (**b^heǵd-*)–SERPENT/WORM], cf. Ved. [*bhed-áhi-*acc.] (RV+, see below) and Ved. [*bhed-kṛmi-*acc.] ‘to split the worm’ (AVŚ 5.23.13ab).

50 On Vṛtra’s combat and IE comparanda cf. Bréal 1882, Renou 1934, Fontenrose 1959, Schmidt 1968, Dandekar 1979, Lahiri 1984, Söhnen-Thieme 2001, Watkins 1995, Witzel 2004.

51 According to Oldenberg 1923, the waters enclosed by Vṛtra are headwaters coming from the mountains, which are released from the peaks when winter-frost melts (cf. also Schmidt 1968, Witzel 2004, Slade 2008). However, the image of the waters’ liberation has also been interpreted as the production of rain from the cloud in Old Indic exegetic literature (cf. *Nigh.* 1.10).

CHART 2 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: distribution of the roles

	[HERO (Indra[/Bṛhaspati])]	[with HELPERS]	vs	[ENEMY]
Vṛtra-myth:	Indra	Marutas		Vṛtra
Vala-myth:	Indra/Bṛhaspati	Aṅgirasas/Uśijas		Vala

Indra's enemies share the common trait of 'enclosing'. Both Ved. *vṛtrá-* and Ved. *valá-* are nominal derivatives of the Vedic root *var*₂ 'to close, cover' (IE **uel-* 'to enclose, envelop', cf. section 1.4 above): Ved. *vṛtrá-* reflects **uḷ-tró-*, a *nomen instrumenti* with suffix *-tro-*: 'the means of enclosing' (Renou 1934), while *valá-* reflects **uoló-*, a thematic derivative with agentive value, 'enclosing' (possibly subst. 'the encloser*').

In both mythological narratives Indra(/Bṛhaspati) is accompanied by a group of deities or priests: the Marutas are on Indra's side in the fight against Vṛtra, the Aṅgirasas or the Uśijas in conquering Vala. The participation of the hero's helpers is usually expressed by analogous verbal strategies: through the name of the group in the instrumental case, cf. RV 6.18.5bc *valám aṅgirobhiḥ*, *hán* "with the Aṅgirasas ... you smashed Vala"; with a compound featuring the helpers' name as FCM and a SCM °*sakhi-*, meaning 'having X as comrade(s)', cf. RV 8.76.2ab *ayám índro marútsakhā*, *ví vṛtráśyābhinac chíraḥ* "this Indra ... with the Marutas as comrades, split apart the head of Vṛtra" (cf. also RV 8.76.3a), or by means of a *vant*-adjective, cf. RV 1.80.11d *vṛtrám marútvaṁ ávadhīḥ* "you have slain Vṛtra with the Marutas alongside", RV 2.11.20d *bhinád valám índro aṅgirasvān* "together with the Aṅgirasas, Indra split the Vala cave". The parallel distribution of roles is recapitulated in CHART 2 (above).

2.3.2 The Cave and the Mountain

The myths of Vala and Vṛtra exhibit parallel lexical usages. Specifically, the word *bíla-* 'cave opening' occurs only twice in the entire *Rigveda*, always as the object of the verb *ápa-var* 'to open, uncover'.⁵² In RV 1.32 Ved. *bíla-* applies to the liberation of waters, which Vṛtra held captive, while in RV 1.11, it refers to Vala, cf.

RV 1.32.11cd
apám bílam ápihitam yád āsīd
vṛtrám jaghanvām āpa tát vavāra

52 The verb often applies to Vala, e.g. RV 2.14.3b *yó gá udājad āpa hí valám vāḥ* "... who drove up the cattle—for he had opened the cave".

What was the hidden **opening** for the waters—that Indra **uncovered** after he smashed *Vṛtra*

RV 1.11.5ab

t_uvām valásya gómató
a'pāvar adrivo bílam

You **uncovered the opening** of Vala filled with cattle, O possessor of the stone.

Moreover, both Vala and *Vṛtra* are connected with rocky mountains. As already anticipated, Vala is a rocky enclosure, which is also called ‘stone’, ‘mountain’ or ‘mountain fortification’ (see above, section 1.4). Significantly, *Vṛtra* is said to lie down on a mountain, cf.

RV 1.32.2a

áhann áhim párvate śísriyānām

He smashed the serpent resting **on the mountain**

RV 4.17.7cd

t_uvām prāti praváta āśáyānam
áhim vājreṇa maghavan ví vṛścaḥ

With your mace you hewed apart the serpent who was lying **against the (mountain) slopes**, O bounteous one.⁵³

In further passages the action of splitting the mountain(s)/the ‘belly’ of the mountains is juxtaposed to the killing of *Vṛtra*, cf. RV 1.32.1cd *áhann áhim án_uv apás tatarda , prá vakṣánā abhinat párvatānām* “he smashed the serpent. He bored out the waters. He split the bellies of the mountains”, RV 4.17.3ac *bhinád girīm ... vādhdīd vṛtrām vājreṇa* “he split the mountain ... He smashed *Vṛtra* with his mace”.⁵⁴

The parallel lexical usages speak in favour of an overlap between the combat against *Vṛtra* and the smashing of Vala, cf.

53 Cf. also RV 1.54.10b *antár vṛtrásya jaṭhāreṣu párvataḥ* “(there stood) a mountain within the belly of *Vṛtra*”.

54 Cf. also RV 10.89.7.

CHART 3 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: parallel lexical usages

	[ENEMY (*uel-)] [MOUNTAIN (<i>pārva-</i> (blocks/closes) [CAVE (<i>bīla-</i>) <i>ta-/pravāt-/girī-</i>)]	
Vṛtra-myth: Vṛtra	<i>pārvate śiśrīyāṇām prati pravāta āśāy- ānam</i>	<i>bīla-</i>
Vala-myth: Vala	<i>pārvatasya dṛṃhitāni</i>	<i>bīla-</i>

2.3.3 How to Smash the Enclosing Thing

In both Vedic myths, Indra ‘smashes/destroys’ an obstruction. This main event is described by means of recurrent expressions, namely:

[HERO–KILLS/SPLITS–SERPENT/ENCLOSING ONE(Ved. *var*₂)]

In connection with the Vṛtra-myth, the *base collocation* mostly features Ved. *han* ‘to slay’ (IE **g^hen-* ‘to kill’, cf. Gk. θείνω, Lat. *fendo*, Hitt. *kuenzi*)⁵⁵ and a direct object ‘serpent’, Ved. *āhi-*, or ‘encloser/obstacle’, Ved. *vṛtrá-*, cf.

RV 1.32.1C

áhann áhim án_uν apás tatarda

He smashed the serpent. He bored out the waters

RV 1.32.5a

áhan vṛtrám vṛtratáram vṛtāṃsam

Indra smashed Vṛtra[/Obstacle] the very great obstacle, whose shoulders were spread apart.

The destruction of Vala is described by means of verbs meaning ‘to split’. Ved. *bhed* (IE **b^heid-* ‘to split’, cf. LIV² 71–72, IEW 117) applies to the heroic deed in most of the cases, cf.

55 Ved. *vadh* is suppletive of Ved. *han* in the aorist, cf. García Ramón 1998. As pointed out by Slade 2008:32–42, other verbs apply to the same heroic deed, namely: (*ví-/ní-*)*vraśc* ‘to cut (down/apart)’, *bhed* and *roj* (on which see also below). Slade 2008:41 also argues that [(*ví-/ní-*)*vraśc/roj*–SERPENT] are lexically renewed collocations for [*bhed*–SERPENT].

RV 2.11.20d

bhinád valám índro āṅgirasvān

Together with the Aṅgirasas, Indra **split the Vala** cave.

Nevertheless, quasi-synonymous verbs occasionally apply to the smashing of Vala, namely:

- (ví-)dar ‘to cleft’ (IE *der-, cf. LIV² 119–121, IEW 206–208), cf. RV 1.62.4d *valám ráveṇa darayaḥ* “with a roar you cleft Vala”.
- (ví-)roj ‘to break’ (IE *leug-, cf. LIV² 415–416, IEW 686), cf. RV 6.39.2c *rujád árugṇam vívalásya sánum* “he breaks apart the unbreakable back of the Vala cave”.⁵⁶

Significantly, Ved. *han* and *bhed* are also employed as if they were exchangeable. Occasionally, *han* describes the killing of (personified) Vala and (*ava*-)*bhed* the slaying or beheading of Vṛtra (Renou 1934:118), cf.

RV 6.18.5ac

tán naḥ pratnáṃ sakhyám astu yuṣmé
itthá vádadbhir valám āṅgirobhiḥ
hánṇ acyutacyud dasmeśáyantam

Let our age-old partnership with you (all) (still) exist, with the Aṅgirasas speaking in just this way—along with them **you smashed** the prospering **Vala** cave, O wondrous shaker of the unshakable

RV 2.11.18ab

dhiṣvā śávaḥ sūra yéna vṛtrám
avábhīnad dánūm aurṇavābhám

Take to yourself the vast power, O champion, by which **you cut down** **Vṛtra**, the son of Dānu, that son of a spider!

RV 1.52.10cd

vṛtrásya yád badbadhānásya rodasī
máde sutásya śávasábhīnac chíraḥ

⁵⁶ Significantly, *roj* applies to the splitting of mountains in RV 6.30.5b, at close distance to [*áhan áhim*] (RV 6.30.4c). Ved. (ví-)kar ‘to separate’ (IE *k^uer-, cf. LIV² 391–392, IEW 641–642) is attested in RV 10.67.6ab *índro valám rakṣitáram dúghānām ... ví cakartā* “Indra cut apart Vala, the guard over the milkers”.

When, in the exhilaration of the pressed soma, with your vast power **you split the head of Vṛtra**, who was pressing harder and harder upon the two world-halves.⁵⁷

CHART 4 Myths of Vala and Vṛtra: lexeme-crossing in the *base collocations*

	[HERO	KILLS/SPLITS	ENCLOSING one (*uel-)]
Vṛtra-myth:	Indra	<i>han</i> (→ <i>bhed</i>)	Vṛtra Vṛtra('s head)
Vala-myth:	Indra/Bṛhaspati	<i>bhed</i> (→ <i>han</i>)	Vala
cf. also	Indra/Bṛhaspati	BREAKS (Ved. [vī-]roj)	Vṛtra/Vala

Additionally, Ved. *roj* 'to break' refers to both Vala and Vṛtra in the collocation(s) [INDRA-BREAKS apart ([vī-]roj)–VALA/VṚTRA_{acc.}], cf. e.g. RV 4.50.5b *valám ruroja phaligám ráveṇa* "he broke Vala, broke its bolt with his roar", RV 8.6.13 *yád asya manyúr ádhvanīd, ví vṛtrám parvaśó ruján | apáḥ samudráṁ árayat* "when his battle fury smoked, he, breaking Vṛtra apart joint by joint, sent the waters to the sea".⁵⁸

Once again, the phraseological analysis demonstrates that the two heroic deeds overlap and merge. The *base collocations* resulting from the intersection of the lexemes are described in CHART 4 (above).

In the light of this 'phraseological system', also RV 10.67.12b *ví mūrdhānam abhinad arbudásya* "Indra split apart the head of Arbuda" (cf. chapter 8, section 4) is reminiscent of both the passages in which Indra splits Vṛtra's head (cf. the collocation RV 1.52.10cd *vṛtrásya ... śávasābhīnac chíraḥ*), and those in which Indra/Bṛhaspati smashes Vala (e.g. RV 2.11.20d *bhinád valám*).

57 Cf. Slade 2008:25–29. The same collocation is attested in other two passages, cf. RV 8.6.6 *ví cid vṛtrásya dódhato, vājreṇa śatáparvanā | śíro bibheda vṛṣṇínā* "with his mace of a hundred joints, with the ram, he split apart the head of raging Vṛtra"; RV 8.76.2 *ayám índro marútsakhā, ví vṛtrásyābhīnac chíraḥ | vājreṇa śatáparvanā* "this Indra here, with the Marutas as comrades, split apart the head of Vṛtra with a hundred-jointed mace".

58 Cf. also RV 8.6.37a, 10.49.6b, and the type [INDRA-BREAKS(vī-roj)–BODY-PART–VALA/VṚTRA_{gen.}] which is also attested in RV 10.152.3ab *ví rákṣo ví mūdho jahi, ví vṛtrásya hánū ruja* "smash away the demon, away the scornful; break apart the jaws of Vṛtra"; RV 1.56.6d *ví vṛtrásya samáyā pāṣyārujah* "you broke apart all at once the two jaws of Vṛtra".

2.4 Association with the Base Collocation [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT]: Common Traits

On the strength of the set of metaphoric and phraseological overlaps presented here, matching ‘serpent-combat’ elements in the Greek Perseus myth and the Old Indic Vala-myth acquire new weight. They are not trivial coincidences and/or parallel developments, but rather reflections of inherited phraseological and thematic material. Indeed, the phraseological analysis (*ex Graeco* and *ex Vedico ipso*) casts light on the workings of lexical renewal and substitution, which account for a variety of formal discrepancies between the comparanda. The association between Perseus’ endeavour and Indra(/Bṛhaspati)’s heroic deeds with the *base collocation* [HERO–KILLS–SERPENTINE ENEMY] is one of these remarkable common traits. In particular:

- From the 7th century BCE, the *Mischwesen* par excellence, the Gorgons, are associated with reptiles in literary and material iconography. Such a tie is already visible Medusa’s most ancient iconographic portrayal (pithos from Louvre), while archaic literary sources often represent the Gorgons as snaky-girdled ([Hes.] Sc.) or snaky-haired (Pi.+). Reflections of the collocation [HERO–KILLS (IE **g^uhen-*)–SERPENT (IE **h₁og^uhi-*)], not attested directly in Greek, are scattered in two Pindaric passages: ὀφιδέος ... Γοργόνος (O. 13.63) and ἔπεφνε ... Γοργόνα (P. 10.46, cf. also MN Γοργοφόνος, Hes. fr. 193.13).
- Derivatives of the IE **g^uhen-* ‘to kill’ and IE **h₁og^uhi-* ‘serpent’ regularly apply to the Old Indic Vṛtra-myth, which parallels the Vala-myth in several respects.
 - (i) The main roles and events of the myths are similarly distributed: Indra and Indra/Bṛhaspati smash an enemy, who is an ‘encloser’ (Ved. *vṛtrá-* and Ved. *valá-*); the hero-god is helped and/or celebrated by a group of characters, namely: the Marutas or the Aṅgirasas/Uśijas.
 - (ii) Both Vṛtra and Vala possess or block a ‘cave opening’ (Ved. *bíla-*) and are associated with mountains or mountain slopes (Ved. *párvata-*, *gíri-*, *pravát-*).
 - (iii) Although different *base collocations* regularly apply to the two myths—[HERO–KILLS (IE **g^uhen-*)–SERPENT (IE **h₁og^uhi-*)] is most commonly referred to the Vṛtra-myth (cf. e.g. *áhann áhim* [RV 1.32.1c+]), [HERO–SPLITS (**b^heǵd-*)–*valá-* or STONE (Ved. *ádri-*)] to the Vala-myth (cf. e.g. *bhinád valám* [RV 2.11.20d], *adribhíd-* [RV 6.73.1a])—, the same *base collocations* occasionally cross: Ved. *han* thus refers to the Vala-myth, while Ved. *bhed* describes the smashing of Vṛtra/Vṛtra’s head.
- The analysis of Vedic phraseology shows that the two Old Indic stories proceed in parallel and overlap, while some aspects of Perseus’ endeavour against the Gorgons can be legitimately compared to those attested in connection with the Vṛtra- and the Vala-myths.

3 Association with the Collocation [HERO–DRIVES away–GOODS(cattle, women etc.)]

3.1 *Perseus Rescuer of Women: The Fate of Danae and Andromeda*

Perseus' triumph over Medusa is also connected with the liberation of two female figures, namely: his mother Danae and his wife Andromeda. According to the most common account of the story, Polydectes, tyrant of Seriphus, makes Danae his concubine and asks Perseus to obtain Medusa's head as a nuptial gift to Hippodameia. However, it is thanks to the terrifying power of Medusa's gaze that Perseus kills Polydectes and sets his mother free (chapter 5, section 2, 14–16).⁵⁹

Perseus is the protagonist of a further mythological account, which Ezio Pelizer (1987:46) defines as “a sort of reduplication of the qualifying deed [sc. the Gorgon episode]”.⁶⁰ In this story, the hero faces a sea-monster, which is infesting the Ethiopian coasts.⁶¹ As a consequence of his victory, he obtains the hand of Andromeda, the daughter of Cassiopea/Cassiopea and king of Ethiopia Cepheus.⁶² The story is summarised by Pseudo-Apollodorus.⁶³ The mythographer's account relies upon previous sources, which are not in our possession. Indeed, Andromeda was the subject of lost plays by Euripides⁶⁴ and Sophocles:⁶⁵

59 Cf. also *P.* 10.46–48, fr. 70d.39–41 (= *Dith.* 4.39–41), see above section 1.3.

60 Orig. “une sorte de redoublement de l'exploit qualifiant”.

61 On the episode and its iconography cf. Ogden 2013:123–129.

62 The first mention of Andromeda as Perseus' wife is found in Herodotus (7.61), who, however, does not recount the entire mythological narrative, cf. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει.

63 In connection with the evolution of the myth of Perseus and Andromeda and its possible non-IE roots and comparanda cf. Goold 1959:10–15, Morenz 1962, Hetzner 1963, Cristóbal López 1989, Gianotti 2003. Morenz proposes an Oriental origin of the myth, by comparing the story with the Ugarit's account of the combat between Baal and Jam, a Sea-god. Hetzner 1963 compares the story of Andromeda with mythological narratives attested in other IE traditions.

64 See Pagano's (2010) edition. Cf. also the edition of Bubel 1991 (on which cf. Kannicht 1993). As a recent reference on the parody and possible recovering of passages of Euripides' *Andromeda* in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1011–1100, cf. Sfyroeras 2008, Major 2012–2013.

65 On Sophocles' *Andromeda* cf. Webster 1965, who makes the case that Sophocles' tragedy began with Andromeda being bound, analogously to Prometheus in [Aeschl.] *pv*. In Sophocles' *Andromeda*, the heroine was bound to stakes cf. Rispoli 1972. Pàmias Massana 1999 proposes that a variant of Andromeda's myth, according to which Andromeda was tied to a pair of oars, might have inspired Sophocles.

[Apollod.] 2.4.3–4

παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Κηφεύς, εὔρε τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδαν παρακειμένην βορὰν θαλασσίῳ κήτει. Κασσιέπεια γὰρ ἡ Κηφέως γυνὴ Νηρηΐσιν ἤρισε περὶ κάλλους, καὶ πασῶν εἶναι κρείσσων ἤρχισεν· ὅθεν αἱ Νηρηίδες ἐμήνισαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὐταῖς συνοργισθεὶς πλήμμυράν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἔπεμψε καὶ κήτος. Ἀμμωνος δὲ χρήσαντος τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἐὰν ἡ Κασσιέπεια θυγάτηρ Ἀνδρομέδα προτεθῇ τῷ κήτει βορά, τοῦτο ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Κηφεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσέδωκε τὴν θυγατέρα πέτρᾳ. ταύτην θεασάμενος ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ ἐρασθεὶς ἀναιρήσειν ὑπέσχετο Κηφεῖ τὸ κήτος, εἰ μέλλει σωθεῖσθαι αὐτὴν αὐτῷ δώσειν γυναῖκα. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὅρκων, ὑποστάς τὸ κήτος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἔλυσεν.

Having come to Ethiopia, of which Cepheus was king, he found the king's daughter Andromeda set out to be the prey of a sea monster. For Cassiepea, the wife of Cepheus, vied with the Nereids in beauty and boasted to be better than them all; hence the Nereids were angry, and Poseidon, sharing their wrath, sent a flood and a monster to invade the land. But Ammon having predicted deliverance from the calamity if Cassiepea's daughter Andromeda were exposed as prey to the monster, Cepheus was compelled by the Ethiopians to do it, and **he bound his daughter to a rock**. When Perseus beheld her, he fell in love with her and promised Cepheus that he would kill the monster, **if he would give him her hand**. These terms having been sworn to, Perseus withstood and **slew the monster and released Andromeda**.

Although we lack extensive literary records of this story from the Archaic and Classical Age, a Corinthian amphora from Cerveteri, dated 575–550 BCE, represents the battle of Perseus against the sea-monster (FIGURE 3).⁶⁶ On the amphora all characters are identified by name. On the left, a giant sea-monster (⟨ΚΗΤΟΣ⟩) emerges from the sea, visible in the background. In the centre, Perseus, wearing winged sandals and holding a leather pouch, is throwing rocks from a pile lying on the ground at the κήτος. Behind him (on the right), Andromeda is tied (probably) to a rock.

The accessories worn by Perseus do not simply help the beholder to recognize him,⁶⁷ but they also allude to the fact that the fight against the κήτος

66 On the iconography of Andromeda cf. *LIMC* s.v. Andromeda.

67 Cf. *LIMC* s.v. Perseus. The hero is regularly represented as having the winged shoes and/or the ἄρπη in the hand, and/or the χίβις.



FIGURE 3
Black-figure Corinthian
amphora from Cerve-
teri, 575–550 BCE, Altes
Museum, Berlin
© STAATLICHE
MUSEEN ZU BERLIN,
ANTIKENSAMMLUNG /
PHOTOGRAPH: INGRID
GESKE CC BY-SA 4.0,
F 1652.

happens in close proximity to his encounter with the Gorgon. According to the most common account of the saga (cf. chapter 5, section 2), Perseus was bestowed the winged sandals, the pouch, and Hades' helmet by his divine helpers (the Nymphs and/or Hermes and/or Athena) to defeat Medusa. Therefore, according to most ancient textual sources, the hero is imagined to have fought against the *κῆτος* *after* he took away Medusa's head.⁶⁸

68 Cf. Eur. *TrGF* 124.5–6 Περσεύς, πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν, τὸ Γοργόνος || χάρα κομίζων 'I, Perseus, as I voyage for Argos bearing the Gorgon's head', although the inclusion of these verses in the tragedy is controversial. In Ovid's account (*Met.* 4.706–752) this fight of Perseus is connected with the *aition* of the coral, which was generated from the contact of Medusa's head with the seaweeds, cf. Maselli 2002. In the Corinthian amphora from Cerveteri, however, Perseus does not seem to kill the *κῆτος* by petrifying it with the Gorgon's head, but he attempts to hit him with rocks. The vase painting may be 'photographing' a first attack attempted by the hero or follow a different tradition.

3.2 *Medusa's Combat and Andromeda's Rescue*

Further analogies between the combat against the Gorgon and the rescue of Andromeda may be identified:

- In the Andromeda episode, Perseus' enemy is called κῆτος 'sea-monster'. Thus, the hero's adversary is almost homonymous of the Gorgons' mother Ceto (Κητώ, being related to κῆτος),⁶⁹ cf. Hes. *Th.* 270–274 Κητώ ... τέκε ... Γοργούς (section 1.1 above). Therefore, Pliny seems to identify Andromeda's κῆτος and the Gorgons' mother (*HN* v 14.69 *saxo in quo vinculorum Andromedae vestigia ostendunt; colitur illic fabulosa Ceto*).
- The maritime location of the heroic endeavour and the connection with the 'rocky landscape' is a further trait shared by the two accounts (cf. above, sections 1.1 and 1.3). One of the fragments of Euripides' *Andromeda* emphasises the rocky setting of Perseus' heroic deed: when the hero spots Andromeda's figure on the rocks, he thinks that she is a statue carved out of stone, cf.

Eur. *TrGF* 125

ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρώ περίρρυτον
ἀφρῶ θαλάσσης, παρθένου δ' εἰκῶ τίνα,
ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαῖνων τυκισμάτων
σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός;

[Perseus:] Hold—what promontory do I see here, lapped by sea-foam, and what maiden's likeness, a statue carved by an expert hand to her very form in stone?

TRANSL. COLLARD–CROPP 2008⁷⁰

- Analogously to the clash with the Gorgon, the main event of the Andromeda episode consists in the killing of a (sea-)monster. The expression τὸ κῆτος ἔκτεινε 'he killed the sea-monster' ([Apollod.] 2.4.4) is a variant of the collocation [HERO–KILLS–ENEMY/MONSTER]:⁷¹ Gk. κτείνω is a lexical variant of θείνω in the collocations [HERO–KILLS–SERPENT],⁷² cf. e.g. *P.* 4.249 κτείνει ... ὄφιν 'he killed the serpent' and [HERO–KILLS–ENEMY], cf. the synonymic

69 Κητώ reflects a name containing a suffix *-ōi-* (the so-called 'Σαπφώ-type'), which regularly underlies female mythological names. These formations may pair both with thematic stems, e.g. γοργός : Γοργώ, and other types of stem, including *s*-stems, cf. Κητώ : κῆτος.

70 The same motif occurs in Ov. *Met.* 4.673–675 *nisi quod levis aura capillos || moverat et tepido manabant lumina fletu, || marmoreum ratus esset opus* 'had a light breeze not stirred her locks and warm tears welled in her eyes, he would have thought her a work of marble'.

71 Cf. Watkins 1995:383–390.

72 Watkins 1995:302, 326, 358, 372.

and metrically non-equivalent compounds ἀνδροφόνος (*Il.* 1.242+) : ἀνδροκτό-
νος (*Ba.* 4.23+) ‘slayer of men.’⁷³ Remarkably, in portraying Perseus’ combat,
Ovid compares the sea-monster to a serpent, cf.

Ov. Met. 4.714–715

*utque Iovis praepes, vacuo cum vidit in arvo
prae bentem Phoebo liventia terga draconem*

As the swift bird of Jove, when he beholds a basking **serpent** in an open
field, exposing to the sun its mottled back, and (seizes) on its tail ...

- The death of the monster is followed by the liberation of a woman: by killing
the Gorgon, Perseus sets Danae free from the condition of slavery (λυγρόν
... θήκε ματρός τ’ ἔμπεδον || δουλοσύναν τό τ’ ἀναγκαῖον λέχος, *P.* 12.14–16); by
killing the sea-monster, he frees Andromeda from chains (Ἀνδρομήδην ἔλυ-
σεν, [*Apollod.*] 2.4.4)⁷⁴ and marries her (σωθείσαν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ δώσειν γυναῖκα,
[*Apollod.*] 2.4.4). In Euripides’ *Andromeda*, the heroine concedes to Perseus
‘to carry her off’, cf.

Eur. TrGF 129a

ἄγου δέ μ’, ὦ ξεῖν’, εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις
εἴτ’ ἄλοχον εἴτε δμωῖδ’ (α) ...

Take me with you, stranger, whether you want me as a servant, **a wife**, or
a slave.

This passage allows us to reconstruct a collocation [(HERO)–CARRIES (away)–
BRIDE/WOMAN], cf. ἄγου ... ἄλοχον, in which the notion of ‘leading/carrying
off/away’ is conveyed by Gk. ἄγω (IE *h₁ag̑-, cf. *LIV*² 255–256: *h₂eǵ-, cf. chapter
5, section 2, 13). The verb applies to the harvesting of a booty (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἄγω 1.3,
with reference to *Il.* 1.367+), but it also expresses ‘to take (someone) as a bride’
(cf. *LSJ* VII B.2). The analysis of Vedic passages referring to Vala and other Indo-
Iranian narratives will make evident that analogous phraseological usages are
attested in the *Rigveda*.

73 Massetti 2019:19–22 on the compounds in Pindar and Bacchylides.

74 Cf. *Eur. TrGF* 122.4–5 ἄλλ’ ἐν πυκνοῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἔμπεπλεγμένη || κήτει βορά ... πρόκειμαι ‘but
entangled in close bonds I am presented as food for the monster’ (transl. Collard–Cropp
2008).

3.3 *Indra(/Bṛhaspati), Trita Āptya and Ōraētaona, Son of Āṭṭia*

In Indo-Iranian, the *base collocations* [HERO–KILLS (**g^uhen-*–SERPENT (**h₁og^uhi-*)] and [HERO–LEADS/DRIVES away–GOODS] occur in the framework of another myth, which is often compared to the successes of Indra(/Bṛhaspati) against Vala and Vṛtra: the Vedic myth of Trita Āptya, corresponding to the Avestan myth of Ōraētaona.⁷⁵ In the *Rigveda*, the hero Trita Āptya fights against three-headed Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ. The hero kills him and carries off his cows as booty.⁷⁶ Trita thus becomes a *terminus comparationis* of Indra(/Bṛhaspati) or a doppelgänger of the god(s).⁷⁷ Take, for instance, the following passages:⁷⁸

- Trita is credited with the killing of Vṛtra, cf. RV 1.187.1cd *yāsya tritó vṛj ójasā , vṛtrām víparvam ardáyat* “(sc. food) by whose might Trita shook Vṛtra apart till his joints were parted”;
- The Marutas are said to be the helpers of Trita and Indra in their respective endeavours, cf. RV 8.7.24 *ānu tritāsya yúdyataḥ , śúṣmam āvann utá krátum / ān_uṽ indraṁ vṛtratúr_{ye}* “they stood by the unbridled force and the resolve of Trita, while he was fighting, (stood) by Indra at the overcoming of Vṛtra”.
- Indra is said to have split Vala “as Trita (did)”, cf. RV 1.52.5cd *indraḥ ... bhinád valásya paridhīm̐r iva tritáh* “Indra ... split the barricades of the Vala cave, as Trita had”.

75 Cf. Watkins 1995:313–320. Ved. *Tritá-* (‘the Third’) corresponds to *Ōraētaona-* (uno-derivative based on **tritá-* with secondary *vṛddhi*), while *Āptya* and Av. *Āṭṭia* are derivatives of Indo-Ir. **āp-* ‘water’. However, Av. *Āṭṭia-* displays a metathesis, cf. Gershevitch 1969:188–189, Watkins 1995:314. Both Trita and Ōraētaona face a three-headed monster. While Trita is occasionally associated with Indra, Ōraētaona is helped by *Vərəθraϥna* (‘killer of *Vərəθra*’, cf. Vṛtra), cf. RV 10.8.8b *indreṣita āpt_{yó} abh_y āyudhyat* ‘Āptya, urged on by Indra, attacked’, Yt 14.38e, 40a *amamca vərəθraϥnamca ... yim ŋraētaonō taxmō barat* “and the strength of *Vərəθraϥna* ... which brave Ōraētaona bore”.

76 On Trita Āptya cf. MacDonell 1897:67–69, Oberlies 2012:72–73, 161–163, 404–405.

77 According to Dōyama (2023), Trita might have the role of a priestly king. If this reconstruction is correct, one may argue that Trita stands close to Bṛhaspati. I thank Eijirō Dōyama for the stimulating discussion we had on this point.

78 Cf. RV 10.8.9 *bhūríd indra udínakṣantam ójó , á_uvābhinat sátpatir mányamānam / tvāṣ-ṭrásya cid viśvárūpasya gónām , ācakrānás trīṇi śīrṣá párá vark* “Indra split (the heads) off the one trying to reach up to much power—the Lord of Settlements (split them off) the one who thought himself (the same). Having made the cows of Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, his own, he twisted off his three heads”. In another Vedic passage, Indra overpowers an enemy, who is described as ‘six-eyed and three-headed’, while Trita defeats a boar thanks to the poetic inspiration (ved. *víp-*), which is reminiscent of the weapon used by Indra(/Bṛhaspati) in the Vala-myth, cf. RV 10.99.6 *sá íd dāsam tuvirāvam pátir dán , ṣalakṣám trīśīrṣānam damanyat / asyá tritó n_uṽ ójasā vṛdhānó , vípá varāhám áyoagrayā han* “just he, the household lord, subdued the mightily roaring Dāsa, with his six eyes

In the Avestan version of the myth, Ōraētaona, son of Āθβiia,⁷⁹ kills three-headed Aži Dahāka with the help of *Vərəθrayna-* (i.e. *Vṛtra-killer). In both the Indo-Iranian mythological accounts the slaying of the enemy is described by means of derivatives of IE *g^uhen-: Vedic *han* and Avestan *jan*, cf.

RV 10.8.8cd
triśīrṣāṇaṃ saptāraśmim jaghanvān
tvāṣṭrasya cin nīḥ sasṛje tritō gāḥ

Having smashed the three-headed, seven-reined (monster), Trita let loose the cows, even those of Tvaṣṭar's son

Y 9.8 (cf. Yt 14.40)
yō janaṭ ažiṃ dahākəm
θrizaḥanəm θrikamərəδəm
xšuuas.āšīm hazayrā.yaoxštīm

(Sc. Ōraētaona), **who slew the dragon Aži Dahāka, the three-jawed, three-headed, six-eyed, one of a thousand skills.**⁸⁰

Not only does the main accomplishment of Ōraētaona resemble that of Indra and Trita, but the result of his endeavour also parallels that of Indra(/Bṛhaspati) and is described by means of analogous expressions.

3.4 Waters, Cows, and Women

In the same way as the *base collocations* applying to the killing of Vala and Vṛtra cross and merge (cf. section 2.2 above), the *base collocation* referring to the result of the parallel heroic achievements of Indra, (Indra-)Bṛhaspati and Trita also overlap. By smashing Vṛtra, Indra sets the waters free, by smashing Vala he frees the cows. Analogously, by killing Viśvarūpa, Trita 'lets the cows loose' (cf. *nīḥ sasṛje tritō gāḥ*, RV 10.8.8d, quoted in section 3.3). However, since cows and waters are sometimes compared or represented as the same thing

and three heads. Grown strong through his might, Trita smashed the boar with his metal-tipped poetic inspiration".

79 Y 9.7ch–8a āθβiio ... yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiata ... θraētaonō | yō janaṭ ažiṃ dahākəm "Āθβiia ... to him a son was born ... Ōraētaona, who killed Aži Dahāka".

80 The myths of Trita Āptya and that of Ōraētaona display great similarities with that of Geryoneus and Cacus (cf. Bréal 1882, Watkins 1995), cf. Pi. fr. 169a.6–8 Γηρυόνας βόας ... ἔλασε "(Heracles) carried off Geryoneus' cows". Geryoneus, who is Medusa's grandson, has three heads (cf. Hes. *Th.* 287), six hands and six-feet (cf. Stes. 5).

(cf. chapter 8, section 4),⁸¹ the water-streams Indra sets free resemble cows. In parallel, Bṛhaspati is credited with the liberation of the water-flood, cf.

RV 1.32.2cd
vāśrā iva dhenávaḥ syāndamānā
āñjaḥ samudrām āva jagmur āpaḥ

Like bellowing milk-cows, streaming out, the waters went straight down to the sea⁸²

RV 2.23.18d
bṛhaspate nír apám aubjo arṇavām

Bṛhaspati, you forced out the flood of waters.⁸³

The release of the imprisoned beings is also equated with the gathering of a precious booty. This action is in turn expressed by the *base collocation*

[HERO—LEADS/DRIVES away/off(Ved. [úd-/sám-]aj)—GOODS]⁸⁴

The notion [GOODS] is expressed by means of unmarked lexemes (such as Ved. *vásu-* ‘goods’), cf. RV 6.73.3a *bṛhaspátīḥ sám ajayad vásūni* ‘Bṛhaspati entirely conquered goods’, or ‘marked’ lexemes specifying the nature of the conquered goods, cf.

81 Venkatasubbiah 1965. Cf. RV 9.24.2 and TS 2.1.4.5, 4, 6 *tásya vṛtrásya śīrṣató gáva ud āyan* ‘from the head of Vṛtra cows came out’.

82 Cf. also RV 1.32.11ab, 1.32.12cd, 1.61.10cd.

83 Since in the *Rigveda* ‘cows’ are also a metaphoric designation for the light-beams of the sun and the dawn, Indra and/or (Indra/)Bṛhaspati are also said to have ‘produced’ or ‘found’ the sun and the dawn, by destroying Vṛtra/Vala, cf. RV 1.32.4ac, 10.67.4–5 (on which see chapter 8, section 4), 10.68.9.

84 As pointed out by Matasović 1996, the fact that the *base collocation* [HERO—DRIVES (**h₁aġ-*) away—CATTLE (**g^ueh₃u-*)] often combines with derivatives of IE **g^uhen-* ‘to kill’ in Indo-Iranian and Old Irish suggests that cattle-raids, crucial events in the IE culture (cf. Lincoln 1976), were connected with dragon-combats (Ivanov–Toporov 1974). In Old Irish [HERO—DRIVES away (**h₁aġ-*)—CATTLE (**g^ueh₃u-*)] occurs in the same expression ‘women are taken, men are killed, cattle are driven off’, cf. *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 3425 *fir eontair, mná brattair, baí agthar*; *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 2124 *mná brataitir, ol Cú Chulaind, eti agatair, fir gonaitir* ‘women are taken, said Cú Chulainn, cattle are driven off, men are killed’. In Vedic *ud-aj* occurs at close distance to *han* in RV 2.12.3, 2.14.3. On the symbiotic interaction between IE **h₁aġ-* and **g^uhen-* cf. also Anttila 1999.

RV 3.45.2ab
vṛtrakhādó valamrujáḥ
puráñ darmó apám ajáh

Gnawer of Vṛtra, breaker of Vala, splitter of strongholds, **driver of waters ...**

RV 2.24.3C
úd gá ājad ábhinaḍ bráhmaṇā valám

He drove up the cattle; he split the cave by the sacred formulation.

In the Avestan parallel account, the hero Ōraētaona, killer of Aži Dahāka, carries away his enemies' wives.⁸⁵ Significantly, the notion of 'carrying off' is expressed by means of Av. *az* (IE **h₁aǵ-*, matching Ved. *aj* [see above] and Gk. ἄγω), cf.

Yt 5.34no
uta hē vaṇta azāni
saṇhauuāci arəṇauuāci

And that I may **carry off** his (sc. Aži Dahāka's) **two beloved wives, Saṇhvac and Arənavac.**

Although Indra is never said to rob his enemies of their women, 'cows', 'waters' and 'spouses' overlap in several Rigvedic passages. The waters set free by the god are compared both to 'women, who have the Dāsa as [their] husband' (Ved. *dāsāpatnīḥ*)⁸⁶ and 'cows, who have the serpent as their herdsman' (Ved. *āhigopa-*), cf.

RV 1.32.11ab
dāsāpatnīr āhigopā atīṣṭhan
nīruddhā āpaḥ pañineva gāvaḥ

The waters stood still—their husband was the Dāsa; their herdsman, the serpent—hemmed in like the cows by the Pañi.

85 The collocation [TRITA–LEADS/DRIVES (away)–WOMEN]* is not attested in Vedic, but Trita's wives are mentioned in several hymns, cf. Oberlies 2012:405.

86 Cf. RV 3.12.6b, 5.30.5d, 8.96.18d.

TABLE 11 IE lexemes for ‘to lead’ in the collocations [to LEAD–WATERS/WOMEN]

1. IE <i>*neǵH-</i>	[WATER]	Ved. <i>apām netā</i> ‘the guide of the waters’ (RV 2.12.7d+) ^a Hitt. <i>wātar nai</i> ‘he drives/leads the waters’ Luw. <i>wātar nanamman</i> ‘led waters’
	[WOMAN]	Ved. <i>pūṣā tvetó nāyatu</i> ‘Pūṣan shall lead you (: the bride) inside’ (RV 10.85.26a)
2. IE <i>*ǵedʰ-</i>	[WATER]	Bactr. <i>αβο οζοαστο</i> ‘he leads the waters’ YAv. <i>vaiði-</i> ‘irrigation canal’, <i>vād</i> ‘canal’ OIr. <i>uisce tairidne</i> ‘led water’
	[WOMAN]	OAv. <i>vaziiamnā</i> ‘bride’ SCr. <i>te vode djevojku</i> ‘they are leading the bride’
3. IE <i>*ǵeǵʰ-</i>	[WATER]	Gk. <i>ῥδωρ ὀχετεύόμενον</i> ‘canalised water’ (Hdt. 3.60+)
	[WOMAN]	Gk. <i>ὀχέων</i> ‘(Apollo’s) chariot (carrying his bride Cyrene)’ (Pi. P. 9.10) Ved. <i>vahyá-</i> ‘wedding litter’ (MS+) OAv. <i>vaziiā-</i> ‘(wedding) chariot’ Ved. <i>vahate</i> ‘to marry’, OAv. <i>vazaite</i> ‘id.’ (Y 53.5)
4. IE <i>*deǵuk-</i>	[WATER]	Lat. <i>aquam ducere, aquae ductus</i> ‘lead water, aqueduct’
	[WOMAN]	Lat. <i>uxorem ducere</i> ‘to marry’
5. IE <i>*h₁aǵʰ-</i>	[WATER]	Gk. <i>ῥδωρ ἄγειν</i> (Pl.+) ‘to lead water’ (cf. Pi. N. 7.62)
	[WOMAN]	Gk. <i>γυναικα ἄγειν</i> ‘to lead the bride’ (cf. Pi. P. 9.122–123) Av. <i>van̥ta azāni</i> (Yt 5.34) Lat. <i>agere uxorem</i> ‘to marry’

a Cf. also RV 9.74.3d.

Moreover, not only is the collocation [to LEAD (IE **h₁aǵʰ-*)–WOMEN_{acc.}] a ‘marked’ lexical variant for [to CARRY/DRIVE away–GOODS_{acc.}], but the structure [to LEAD–WOMAN_{acc.} (= bride)] also came to semantically specialise as [to MARRY] in several IE languages. As Watkins (2009:231) showed, the notion of ‘leading’ within the collocations for [to LEAD–the WOMAN_{acc.} (= bride), i.e. to MARRY], and [to LEAD–WATER_{acc.}] is expressed by a set of interchangeable synonyms in diverse IE languages,⁸⁷ cf. TABLE 11 (above).

In the light of the threefold phraseological overlap [COWS] : [WATERS] : [WOMEN] and the phraseological data about [to LEAD–WOMEN] presented, it is remarkable that a wedding simile describes the re-conjunction between the

87 In Massetti 2019:126–129, I propose to integrate [to LEAD–GLORY_{acc.}] in Watkins’ scheme.

Aṅgirasas and their cows in RV 10.68. In this hymn, the Aṅgirasas and the cows are first likened to Bhaga and Aryaman, i.e. to the deities who preside over marriage, then to a married couple (*dāmpatī*, du. ‘the household pair’); Ved. *ṇay* (cf. above, TABLE 11 [1]) expresses the notion of ‘leading the bride’, cf.

RV 10.68.2
sām góbhir āṅgirasó nákṣamāṇo
bhága ivéd aryamāṇam nināya
jāne mitró ná dāmpatī anakti
bṛhaspate vājyāśúṁr ivājaú

(Bellowing) with the cows, (Bṛhaspati) Aṅgiras, coming near, **led (the Aṅgirasas) together with the cows, as Bhaga leads Aryaman**. As the ally among the people [= Agni] anoints **the household pair**, he anoints (the Aṅgirasas). O Bṛhaspati, incite them like swift (horses) in a contest.⁸⁸

The metaphor indirectly allows us to reconstruct an overlap between different booty (waters, cattle, women) won by the Indic serpent/prison-smashers, Indra/(Indra/)Bṛhaspati, Trita Āptya and the Avestan serpent-killer Θraētaona.

3.5 Association with the Collocation [*HERO–DRIVES away–GOODS(cattle, women etc.)*]: *Common Traits*

The Gorgon myth and the Indic myths of Vala and Vṛtra may share a further common point, namely: the association of the hero’s victory with an analogous result, i.e. the liberation and carrying off of something/someone.

- Perseus’ fight against the Gorgon is connected with the liberation of a woman, namely: in the first instance, his mother Danae (λυγρόν ... Πολυδέκτα θῆκε || ματρός τ’ ἔμπεδον δουλοσύναν τό τ’ ἀναγκαῖον λῆχος, *P.* 12.14–15), and secondly, Andromeda (Soph., Eur.). Indeed, the Andromeda episode comprises two core-events which resemble those found within the Gorgon endeavour, i.e. the killing of a sea-monster (cf. τὸ κῆτος ἔκτεινε, [Apolod.] 2.4.3–4) and the liberation of a woman, Andromeda, whom Perseus

88 In RV 4.1.16 the metaphoric cows of poetic inspiration are compared to maidens, who announce their bridegroom choice, cf. *té manvata prathamāṁ nāma dhenós , trīḥ sapta mātūḥ paramāṇi vindan | tāj jānatīr abhy ānūṣata vrā , āvīr bhuvad aruṇīr yaśāsā góh* ‘they brought to mind the first name of the milk-cow; thrice seven highest (names) of the mother they found. (The cows) recognizing it [= the name], bellowed out (to the men), (like) maidens (announcing their bridegroom choice). The ruddy one [= Dawn] became manifest with the glorious (name) of the cow’.

marries. This event is described through the collocation [PERSEUS- $\alpha\gamma\omega$ -ANDROMEDA_{acc.}- $\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (pred.)_{acc.}] in Eur. *TrGF* 129a ($\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon \mu' [\epsilon] \dots \alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon$). The passage thus preserves a collocation [HERO-LEADS (IE $*h_1a\acute{g}$)-WOMAN-as WIFE], which in Greek, like in other IE languages, expresses 'to marry'.

- In the $V_{\text{ṛ}}$ tra-myth, Indra liberates the waters, which were imprisoned by $V_{\text{ṛ}}$ tra; in the Vala-myth, he sets the Paṇis' cows free. 'Cows' are a metaphoric designation or a term of comparison for 'waters' and the two myths thus overlap or intersect. Moreover, the collocation [HERO-LEADS/DRIVES away (IE $*h_1a\acute{g}$)-GOODS] applies to the final achievement of the $V_{\text{ṛ}}$ tra- and Vala-myths. The same *base collocation* is found in the Iranian myth of Θραētaona, who, like Indra and Trita Āptya, 'kills a serpent' (cf. Av. Y 9.8 *janaṭ aṣīm dahākəm*). Significantly, Θραētaona 'carries off' the two wives of his enemy (Yt 5.34). Even though neither Indra nor (Indra/)Bṛhaspati is connected with the liberation/carrying away of women, the waters imprisoned by $V_{\text{ṛ}}$ tra are metaphorically compared to women (RV 1.32.11+). Since the collocation [X-LEADS (IE $*h_1a\acute{g}$ - or synonym)-WOMAN_{acc.}] also specialises as 'to marry' (i.e. to lead the bride), the re-conjunction between the Aṅgirasas and their cows is also compared to a marriage (*dámpatī*, RV 10.68.2c).

Perseus' rescue of Andromeda, leading to his marriage, is analogous to the accomplishments of Indra, (Indra/)Bṛhaspati, Trita and Θραētaona: the carrying away of waters, cows or women, which/who originally belonged with the enemies defeated by the (divine) heroes.

4 Acoustic Dimensions of the Narratives

In the Greek narratives recounting the Gorgon-deed, 'loud sounds' are connected with various aspects of the story, namely:

- (i) the figure of the hero and the celebration of his victory over the defeated enemy,
- (ii) the enemy's loud voice, and
- (iii) the musical skills of the hero's divine helper.

4.1 *Perseus' Cry and/or Cheering*

As already anticipated (chapter 5, section 2, 11, and section 2.2 above), *Pythian Twelve* seems not to represent the actual killing of Medusa. The expression which, in a way, summarizes Perseus' accomplishment, apparently focuses on a detail of the episode and is found at 11, within the collocation [PERSEUS-SHOUTS-(against/towards) GORGON_{acc.}], cf. Περσεύς ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητᾶν μέρος.

The use of Gk. ἄνω ‘to shout’ in connection with Medusa’s episode may be reminiscent of more than one typical epic battle scene. In Greek hexameter poetry the verb denotes the battle cry of Athena and Ares, cf.

Il. 20.48–52

ῶρτο δ' Ἐρις κρατερὴ λαοσσόος, αὖτε δ' Ἀθήνη
στᾶσ' ὅτε μὲν παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν τείχεος ἐκτός,
ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων μακρὸν αὖτει.
αὖτε δ' Ἄρης ἐτέρωθεν ἐρεμνὴ λαίλαπι ἴσος
ὄξυ κατ' ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων

Then up leapt mighty Strife, *the rouser of peoples*, and **Athene cried aloud**,⁸⁹—now would she stand beside the digged trench without the wall, and now upon the loud-sounding shores would she utter her loud cry. And over against her **shouted Ares**, dread as a dark whirlwind, calling with shrill tones to the Trojans.

The capacity of ‘roaring terribly’ belongs to both the most warlike Greek gods, as some of their epithets make evident. Ares is called βριήπυος ‘loud-shouting’ (*Il.* 13.521), βρόμιος ‘roaring’ (Lyr. adesp. 109b), and ἐνυάλιος ‘Enyalios’ (*Il.* 17.211+). This epithet, of obscure etymology (cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. ἐνυάλιος),⁹⁰ was synchronically connected with the GN Ἐνυώ, who embodies war and/or the war cry, cf. e.g. Phil. 244* Ἐνυάλιος· παρὰ τὴν Ἐνυώ δαίμονα, ἣτις ἐστὶ προστάτις τοῦ πολέμου, *Et. Gud.* ε 481.19 Ἐνυώ ... [παρὰ] τὸ ἐν(α)ῦειν, [δ] ἐστι βοᾶν.

Athena is described as ἐγρεκύδιμος ‘awakening the battle cry’ by Hesiod (*Th.* 925),⁹¹ while Pindar connects the goddess with loud sounds on more than one occasion. In *Olympian Seven*, Athena is said to have sprung out of Zeus’ head shouting an immense battle cry (*O.* 7.36–37 Ἀθαναία ... ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ) and is addressed as ἐγχειβρόμος ‘having the thunder-roar in the spear’ (*O.* 7.43).⁹² In Pindar’s *Second Dithyramb*, it is Athena’s aegis that resounds with the screams of a thousand snakes, cf. fr. 70b.17–18 (= *Dith.* 2.17–18 ἀλκάεσσα [τ]ε

89 On Athena and the association with the battle cry cf. García Ramón 2021b.

90 On cults of Ares and Enyalios cf. Gonzales 2004. On a possible etymological interpretation of the name cf. Bader 2001–2002.

91 In *Il.* 5.738–742 Athena’s aegis is said to contain a series of allegoric entities, such as *Phobos* ‘fear’, *Eris* ‘strife’, *Alkē* ‘force’ and *Iōkē* ‘battle cry’. Cf. also the epithet ἐρίγδουπος ‘highly-resounding’, which is referred to the goddess in Q.S. 14.421.

92 On the epithet cf. Massetti 2019:39–40.

Παλλάδο[ς] αἰγίς || μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων).⁹³ The use of ἄνω in connection with Athena's protégé in *Pythian Twelve* may thus hint at the super-human, loud cry of Perseus, who is facing an extraordinary battle.

At the same time, the use of the verb may also be connected with another epic context, namely: the typical scene of warriors exulting over their defeated enemies, a traditional motif in Greek hexameter poetry. In passages of this fashion, the expression μακρὸν ᾠσας 'shouting aloud', elsewhere co-occurring with different verbs of speech such as καλέω 'to call'⁹⁴ and κέλομαι 'to command',⁹⁵ combines with ἐπεύχομαι 'to exult',⁹⁶ cf.

Il. 13.413–414

Δηϊφωβος δ' ἔκπαγλον ἐπεύξατο μακρὸν ᾠσας
οὐ μάν αὖτ' ἄτιτος κείτ' Ἀσιος ...

And Deiphobus exulted over him in terrible wise, **and cried aloud**:—Hah, so not unavenged lies Asius!

In the light of the Homeric parallels, the reference to Perseus' battle cry or shout of triumph in *P.* 12.11 (ἄνυσεν, "[when Perseus] shouted ...") may be regarded as a Pindaric invention, which is ultimately based on an epic *topos*.

4.2 *The Enemy's Voice*

In *Pythian Twelve* the opposition between the inarticulate lament of the Gorgons and Athena's musical invention seems to be reflected on the lexical level (cf. ἐρικλάγκταν γόον 'highly shouted wail/lament', 21, vs θρήνος 'dirge', 8, cf. chapter 5, section 2). Even if the description of the Gorgons' lament is unique, the poet might again be operating with a set of traditional themes. As Segal (1998:18–19) highlights, the emission of a loud utterance was probably imagined to be a distinctive trait of the Gorgons, whose "huge frontal face, griming mouth, protruding tongue and sharp teeth conveyed the idea of a 'terrifying roar'" (Phillies-Howe 1958:211–212).⁹⁷

93 On this passage cf. Lavecchia 2000:162, who suggests a parallel with Aeschl. *Sept.* 381 and proposes that κλαγγά alludes to the sound of the *aulos*. On possible Anatolian comparanda to fr. 70b.10–20 cf. Watkins 2001.

94 *Il.* 22.294.

95 *Il.* 6.66, 6.110, 8.172, 11.285, 15.346, 15.424, 15.485, 16.268, 17.183; cf. also κέκλετ' ᾠσας (*Il.* 4.508).

96 *Il.* 13.413, 13.445, 14.453, 14.478.

97 On the iconography of the *gorgoneion* cf. Besig 1937, Floren 1977, Belson 1981.

The names of two relatives of Medusa may provide us with further clues to the inborn loudness of Phorcus' race. According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, after Perseus beheads Medusa, two mythological beings spring out from her blood: Pegasus (cf. section 1.2 above) and the hero Chrysaor, father of Geryoneus, cf.

Hes. *Th.* 280–283, 287–288

τῆς δ' ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν,
ἔκθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.
τῷ μὲν ἐπώνυμον ἦεν, ὅτ' Ὀκεανοῦ περὶ πηγὰς
γένεθ', ὃ δ' ἄορ χρύσειον ἔχων μετὰ χερσὶ φίλησιν.
... Χρυσάωρ δ' ἔτεκεν τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα
μιχθεὶς Καλλιρόη κούρη κλυτοῦ Ὀκεανοῖο

And when Perseus cut off her head, there sprang forth great **Chrysaor** and the horse **Pegasus** who is so called because he was born near the springs of Ocean; and that other, because he held a golden blade (*aor*) in his hands ... And Chrysaor was joined in love to Callirrhoe, the daughter of glorious Ocean, and begot three-headed Geryoneus.

Hesiod explicitly connects Χρυσάωρ with Gk. ἄορ. As confirmed by the Myc. MN *a-o-ri-me-ne* /*A^horimenēs*/ (PY Qa 1296), this term may be traced back to **h₂nsr-*, **h₂nsor-* (cf. Lat. *ensis*, as *per* Nikolaev 2009). Indeed, the Myc. MN *a-o-ri-me-ne* shows no trace of the internal semivowel *-u-*, so, ἄορ must be kept apart from Gk. αἰρώ, a derivative of IE **h₂uer-* 'to hang' (cf. LIV² 290, IEW 1150). Nevertheless, the term was connected to αἰρώ within Greek, cf. e.g. *Et. Gud.* α 157 ἄορ ... παρὰ τὸ αἰρώ ἄορ.⁹⁸ As such it came to mean 'belt' and also to denote the 'lyre/kitharis-belt'. This synchronic etymological link explains why Hesychius glosses χρυσάωρ as χρυσοκίθαρις 'having a golden *kitharis*' (Hsch. χ 777 HC) and why Pindar defines Orpheus χρυσάωρ in fr. 128c.11–12 (Ὀρφέα χρυσάωρα).

The name of Chrysaor's son Geryoneus (Γηρυονεύς) belongs to the semantic field of 'loud utterance', being etymologically related to Gk. γηρύω (non-Att.-Ion. γάρυω 'to utter [a sound]'; 'to sing') and γῆρυς (non-Att.-Ion. γάρυς) 'voice';⁹⁹

98 As explained by Janko (1978:194), the compound χρυσάωρος (*Il.* 15.256+) can belong together with α(φ)εῖρω. Janko proposes that the change from athematic to thematic declension was "mediated through the genitive singular in the formula Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσάωρου before a vowel at the bucolic diaeresis", where the alternative Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσάωρος could have been replaced.

99 According to Forssman 1966:119–120 the Pindaric form Γηρυόνας (*I.* 1.13+), instead of the expected Γαρυόνας*, can be explained as a reference to Hes. *Th.* 289–294, 982–983.

cf. IE **ĝar-* ‘to utter a loud sound’ (cf. LIV² 161, IEW 352).¹⁰⁰ A proper name with a basic meaning ‘Shouter’* is actually well-suited to the guardian of the Hesperides’ apples, who is provided with three heads (τρικέφαλος, Hes. *Th.* 287), and, one can imagine, *three mouths* to give the alarm loud and clear.¹⁰¹ The prerogative of a loud voice is a peculiar trait of Geryoneus’ Latin counterpart *Cacus*,¹⁰² cf.

Ov. *F.* 1.569–572

prima movet Cacus conlata proelia dextra
... et flammas ore sonante vomit

Cacus first begins the battle having swung the right hand ... and **resounding mouth** emits flames.¹⁰³

A final clue to the Gorgons’ association with the sphere of music and loud sounds is their representation in 18th century folklore. As Politis (1878:261) and Lawson (1910:184–185) point out, in Modern Greek oral traditions, the Gorgons are imagined as half-women half-fish creatures who transform into beautiful *singing* maidens, when sailors correctly solve their riddles.

4.3 *Athena’s Musical Invention*

In Pindar’s ode, the twofold reference to Athena’s invention (7–8, 22–24) gives prominence to the musical skill of the goddess and to the imitative nature of the tune (cf. μιμήσαιτο), on which cf. chapter 5, section 2, 21). Nevertheless, several aspects of the ‘tune of many heads’ are obscure. Since the *nomos* imitates the Gorgons’ lament, it is debated whether it had a lugubrious character and whether it was appropriate for an agonistic context like the Pythian games. I argue that verses 22–24 provide us with a possible answer to this latter question. The newly invented song is identified as the ‘glory-making memento of the contests, which stir people’. As I previously highlighted (chapter 5, section 2, 24), interpreters are divided on the meaning of the wording εὐκλέα ... μναστήρ ἄγώνων. The reference to the ‘tune of many heads’ at 23 suggests that εὐκλέα ...

100 On the root and its derivative cf. Massetti 2020. The form in -ονεύς (Γηρουονεύς, Hes.+) may pair with a ὤν-stem (cf. Γηρυών, Aeschl. *Ag.* 870) in the same way as ἡγεμονεύς ‘leader’ pairs with ἡγεμών ‘id.’

101 The semantic shift ‘to utter a loud sound’ > ‘to give the alarm’ > ‘to stay on the watch’ underlies Gk. φύλαξ ‘guard, watcher’, a derivative of IE **b^helH-* ‘to resound’, cf. Kölligan 2016, who makes reference to a variety of passages in which φύλακες are compared or resembled to watch dogs, such as Pl. *Rep.* 375a, 375e.

102 West 2007:261, fn. 73.

103 Cf. Prop. 4.9.10 with v.l. *sonos*.

μναστῆρ' (α) (24) applies to the character of the newly invented song. The verse may thus hint at the inciting character of the composition, as also suggested by the scholion, cf. Σ P. 12.42 Dr. ἔνδοξον ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν τοὺς λαοὺς σοούντων καὶ παρορμώντων εἰς τὴν θέαν. φησὶ δὲ τὸ μέλος.¹⁰⁴

The epithet *λαοσσός* is first attested in the Greek hexameter poetry, where it always applies to animate beings, while in P. 12.24, for the first time, it is referred to a non-animate referent, ἀγών 'contest'. In the *Iliad*, the epithet is only peculiar to deities who have an *active role* in battle, namely: Athena (Il. 13.128), Ares (Il. 17.398), Eris (Il. 20.48, cf. section 4.1 above), and Apollo (Il. 20.79). In the *Odyssey* and in Pseudo-Hesiod's *Shield*, *λαοσσός* is an epithet of Athena (Od. 22.210) and human warriors (Amphiaraoon, Od. 15.244, Elektryon, [Hes.] Sc. 3, Amphitryon, [Hes.] Sc. 37). The collocation *λαοσσός* ... ἀγών* 'contest ... which stirs people' can be compared to ἔρις ... *λαοσσός* 'strife which rouses the people' (Il. 20.48, quoted above). At the same time, since *λαοσσός* is an epithet of Athena, i.e. the creator of the 'tune of many heads', Pindar transfers one of Athena's prerogatives to the context in which the κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμος is performed. The *nomos* thus acts as a reminder of both the Gorgons' defeat and of the warrior spirit of both Perseus and Athena. If this interpretation is correct, the *nomos* entails a 'warlike' musical component, which might make it suitable for performance in an agonistic setting.

4.4 Vala-Myth's Acoustic: Bṛhaspati's Roar

Analogously to the Greek narratives, Old Indic accounts referring to the Vala-myth include references to the following acoustic dimensions:

- (i) the loud voice of the hero (Indra/)Bṛhaspati,
- (ii) the lament of the enemy, and
- (iii) the musical skills of the Indra's and/or (Indra/)Bṛhaspati's helpers.

As already anticipated, Bṛhaspati bears a name which was synchronically interpreted as based on the appellative *bráhmanas páti-*, 'Lord of the Sacred Formulation',¹⁰⁵ i.e. as a compound with SCM *°pati-* 'lord' (cf. OAv. *paiti-* 'lord, spouse', Gk. πόσις 'lord', Lith. *pàts* 'spouse' etc.), and FCM *bṛhas*^o, an *allegro*-form of Ved. *bráhman-* 'sacred formulation', cf. Av. *bərəj-* 'praise'.¹⁰⁶ Pinault (2016:1002–1003)

104 Σ P. 12.42 Dr. seems to suggest that the *melos* created by Athena is performed on contests in honour of the goddess. However, [Plut.] *Mus.* 1133 states that the *nomos* honoured Apollo, cf. chapter 1, section 4. Phillips 2013 suggests that the *nomos kephalān pollān* is to be identified with the 'Athena *nomos*' ([Plut.] *Mus.* 1143) and that *Pythian Twelve* is written in the Athena *nomos*.

105 This collocation often alternates with the god's name in the same hymn (Schmidt 1968:23–25).

106 Renou 1955:12, fn. 12. Praust 2004 *apud* Pinault 2016 proposes that *bṛhas* reflects the voc-

tracks *bṛhas*^o back to an IE root **b^hreǵh-* ‘to formulate, set in a specific form’, which underlies ON *bragr* ‘poetic skill’ and ON *Bragi*, name of the divine poet, or, alternatively, **b^hleh₂-* ‘to invoke’, cf. Lat. *flamen* ‘sacrificial priest’.¹⁰⁷ As such, Bṛhaspati is a god closely associated with the sacrifice and the poetic activity performed at the Vedic ritual. In fact, he is often addressed as ‘poet’, ‘exalted poet’, ‘seer’ (Ved. *kaví-*, *vípra-*, *ṛṣi-*),¹⁰⁸ ‘singer’ (Ved. *ṛkvá-*),¹⁰⁹ ‘driver/guide/conveyer of the speech/song’ (Ved. *yantá sūktásya*, *gāthānī-*),¹¹⁰ ‘king of the song’ (*jyeṣṭharāj- bráhmaṇām*)¹¹¹ and ‘begetter of the sacred formulations’ (Ved. *jantá bráhmaṇām*),¹¹² cf. e.g.

RV 2.23.1–2

1. *gaṇānām tvā gaṇápatiṃ havāmahe*
kavīm kavīnām upamāśravastamam
jyeṣṭharājam bráhmaṇām brahmaṇas pata
á nah śṛṇvānn ūtibhiḥ sīda sádanam

ative of *bṛhant-* ‘high, lofty’. However, as pointed out by Pinault (2016:1001), this vocative does not exist outside the name *bṛhaspati-*, which speaks against Praust’s hypothesis.

- 107 According to Pinault (2016), the genitive of **b^herǵ^hmen*, i.e. **b^herǵ^hmnés/ós* would have been simplified to **b^herǵ^hn-és/ós* (cf. the case of gen.-abl.sg. *ásmanah* [**h₂ékmen-es/os*] besides *ásnah* [**h₂ékⁿ-es/os*]). The form **bṛhnás pate* (voc.sg.) was treated as an *allegro*-form with metathesis, through a Prakrit evolution **-hn- > -nh-*. The form **bṛmhas pate* was then replaced by **bṛhas pate*.
- 108 *kaví-* in RV 2.23.1b; 10.64.4a, 16a; *vípra-* in RV 3.26.2d; 10.64.16c, *ṛṣi-* in RV 10.13.4c.
- 109 Cf. RV 10.36.5b *bṛhaspátih sāmabhir ṛkvó arcatu* ‘let Bṛhaspati the chanter chant along with the melodies’ (cf. MacDonell 1897:101–102, Schmidt 1968:29–35).
- 110 Cf. RV 2.23.19ab *bráhmaṇas pate t_uvám asyá yantá , sūktásya bodhi tánayam ca jinva* ‘Lord of the Sacred Formulation, become the guide of this hymn and give life to our lineage!’, RV 1.190.1 *anarvānaṃ vṛṣabhám mandrájihvam , bṛhaspátim vardhayā návyam arkaiḥ | gāthānāḥ surūco yásya devá , āśṛvānti nāvamānasya mártāḥ* ‘with chants I will strengthen anew the unassailable bull of gladdening tongue, Bṛhaspati, the brightly shining leader of song to whom the gods and the mortals harken as he bellows’. The collocation [LEADER–SONG_{gen.}] partly overlaps [LEADER–POETIC THOUGHTS_{gen.}], which may underlie Apollo’s epithet Μοισαγγέτας (Pi. fr. 94c.1), Μουσηγέτης (Pl. *Leg.* 653d) and Ved. [*netár- matí-gen.pl.*] (RV 9.103.4), as pointed out by Janda 2010:291 and further supported by Massetti 2019:82–83.
- 111 This expression, together with [*rájan- —gír-/bráhmaⁿ-gen.pl.*], semantically overlaps a collocation [to RULE(ἀνάσσω)–over SONG/HYMN], which underlies two Bacchylidean *hapax eiremena*: ἀναξιμολπος ‘ruling over the song’ (Urania, in Ba. 6.10), ὑμνοάνασσα ‘ruling over the hymn’ (Cleo, in Ba. 12.1–2), cf. Massetti 2019:18.
- 112 As I propose in Massetti 2019:225–226, the collocation [FATHER–CHANT/SONG_{gen.pl.}] can be compared to αἰδῶν πατήρ (Orpheus in P. 4.176), Gall. *gutuatē* ‘father of the voice’ (as per Campanile 1976, García Ramón 2011b:195–197), ON *fǫður galdrs* ‘father of the enchantments’ (Óðinn in *Bdr.* 3).

2. *devās cit te asur̥ya prācetaso*
bṛhaspate yajñīyam bhāgām ānaśuḥ
usrā iva sūr̥yo jyōtiṣā mahó
vísveṣām ūjanitā brāhmaṇām asi

1. We call upon you, the troop-lord of troops, the **most famous poet of poets**, the preeminent **king of sacred formulations**, O Lord of the **Sacred Formulation**. Hearing us, sit down upon your seat together with your help. 2. Even the prescient gods attained their sacrificial portion from you, lordly **Bṛhaspati**. As the great sun is (the begetter) of ruddy dawn through its light, you are the very **begetter of all formulations**.

Furthermore, Bṛhaspati possesses an ‘exhilarating tongue’ (Ved. *mandrājihva-*, RV 1.190.1a, 4.50.1d), a ‘bright’ and ‘powerful roaring’ (Ved. *śúcikranda-*, RV 7.97.5c, *tuvīrávan-*, RV 10.64.4a, 10.64.16a).¹¹³ Several verbs belonging to the semantic sphere of ‘noise’ or ‘chant’ describe the god’s loud utterances, namely:

- Ved. *arc* ‘to sing’ (IE **h₁erk-*, cf. LIV² 240–241, IEW 340), cf. RV 10.36.5b *bṛhaspátīḥ sāmabhir̥ṣkvó arcatu* “Let Bṛhaspati the chanter chant along with the melodies”,¹¹⁴
- Ved. *krand* ‘to cry, shout’ (IE **k^uRend-*, cf. LIV² 369, IEW 549), cf. RV 4.50.5cd *bṛhaspátir̥ usríyā havyasúdaḥ*, *kánikradad vāvasatīr̥ úd ājat* “Bṛhaspati drove up the ruddy (cows) who sweeten the oblation, who kept lowing as he was bellowing”,¹¹⁵
- Ved. *nad* ‘to roar’ (IE **ned-*, cf. LIV² 448, IEW 759), cf. RV 10.67.9ab *tām vardháyanto matībhiḥ śívábhiḥ*, *siṃhām iva nánadataṃ sadhásthe* “with our propitious thoughts strengthening him, ever roaring in his seat like a lion”;
- Ved. *nav* ‘to bellow’ (IE **neṃH-*, cf. LIV² 456, IEW 767), cf. RV 10.68.12ac *idám akarma námo abhriyāya*, *yáḥ pūrvír̥ án_uv ānónavīti* | *bṛhaspátīḥ* “this act of reverence here we have performed for the one belonging to the storm cloud, who keeps bellowing after the many (cows?): Bṛhaspati”;
- Ved. *rav* ‘to roar, bellow’ (IE **h₃reṃ(H)-*, cf. LIV² 306, IEW 867), cf. RV 4.50.1ab *yás tastámbha sáhasā ví jmó ántān*, *bṛhaspátis triṣadhashthó ráveṇa* “he

113 RV 10.64.4ab *kathā kavís tuvīrávān káyā girá*, *bṛhaspátir̥ vāvṛdhate suvṛktībhiḥ* “how will the powerfully roaring poet Bṛhaspati grow strong, through what hymn with its well-twisted (ornaments)?”; RV 7.97.5cd *śúcikrandam̐ yajatám past₂vānām*, *bṛhaspátim̐ anarvāṇam̐ huvema* “we would invoke the brightly roaring one, worthy of the sacrifice of the dwelling places, unassailing Bṛhaspati” (on which see Gonda 1959:114).

114 Cf. RV 10.68.9, where the instrumental form *arkéna* may be interpreted as ‘with his ray’ or ‘with (his) chant’.

115 Cf. RV 10.67.3.

who with his strength propped apart the ends of the earth, with a roar—
 Bṛhaspati possessing three seats ...”,¹¹⁶ RV 6.73.1cd *pitá na , á ródasī vṛṣabhó
 roravīti* “our father the bull keeps bellowing to the two world-halves”;¹¹⁷
 – *stanⁱ* ‘to thunder’ (IE *[s]tenh₂-, cf. LIV² 597, IEW 1021), cf. RV 10.67.5d *arkám
 viveda stanáyann iva dyaúh* “he found the chant while he was thundering
 like heaven”.
 ‘Loud voice’ and ‘knowledge of the sacred formulation’ are such distinctive
 traits of Bṛhaspati that he smashes the Vala-cavern thanks to his roaring. For
 this reason, the enlarged *base collocation* [HERO-KILLS/SPLITS-ENEMY-
 WEAPON_{instr.}] commonly occurs as

[*Bṛhaspáti*-_{nom.} -*han/bhed*-ENEMY_{acc.} -(verbal/sung) UTTERANCES_{instr.}]

E.g. RV 6.73.3d
bṛhaspátir hánt_{ty} amítam arkáih

He smites the foe with his chants

RV 2.24.3c
úd gá ājad ábhinaḍ bráhmaṇā valám

He drove up the cattle; He split the cave by the sacred formulation

RV 4.50.5b
valám ruroja phaligám ráveṇa

He broke Vala, broke its bolt with his roar.

On the strength of the textual evidence presented, the trait of a loud voice
 appears to be a distinctive prerogative of Bṛhaspati both as a deity and as the
 protagonist of the Vala-myth. This trait is also made evident by the way the
 god is portrayed in RV 10.67 (5d *arkám viveda stanáyann iva dyaúh* “(found) the
 chant while he was thundering like heaven”).

116 Cf. also RV 9.80.1c, 10.68.8, and RV 4.50.4cd.

117 Rossi (2023) identifies some of the listed roots as onomatopoetic, which are combined
 with further alliterative effects so as to reproduce the specific noise made by cows.

4.5 *Vala Laments*

Reference to the lament of the defeated enemy is found in RV 10.67 (cf. chapter 8, section 4, 6). The latter hymn introduces an elaborated metaphor to describe how Vala misses his cows, cf. RV 10.68.10ab *himéva parṇá muṣitá vānāni*, *bṛhaspátinākrpayad való gāḥ* “as the woods (lament) their leaves stolen by cold, Vala lamented for the cows (stolen) by Bṛhaspati”. RV 10.67 specifies that the Paṇis lament their loss after Indra robbed them, cf.

RV 10.67.6d

árodayat paṇim á gā amuṣṇāt

He made the niggard laments: he stole the cows.

TRANSL. JAMISON–BRERETON 2014, modified by the author

In the passage, the enemy’s crying is described by means of the Vedic root *rod* (IE **reudH-*, cf. LIV² 508, IEW 867). Significantly, this lexical detail is shared by the Iranian version of the same narrative, attested in Yt 44.20.¹¹⁸ As it is often the case,¹¹⁹ the state of things underlying this passage is somehow inverted: in the Avestan tradition the *kauuāh* (cf. Ved. *kaví-* ‘poet’) and *usijah* (cf. Ved. *usíj-* ‘fire priest’) are Zaratuštra’s impious opponents. In their edition of the *Gāthās*, Humbach–Elfenbein–Skjærvø 1991 read and translate as follows:

Yt 44.20cd

yāiš gqm karapā usixšcā aēšmāi dātā

yācā kauuā qnmānē urūdōiatā

Those (words) with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful) (treatment), and which (the) Kavi laments to the wind.

As the text makes evident, the Kavi’s lament corresponds to that of Vala in the Vedic texts. A different interpretation is also possible: Peter Jackson [Rova] (2014) proposes reading the form *qnmānē* (dat.sg.) ‘to the wind’ (cf. Gk. *ἄνεμος*, IE **h₂enh₁-mo-* a derivative of IE **h₂enh₁-* ‘to breath’, cf. LIV² 267–268, IEW 38–39) as a locative *qnmānī* ‘in (her) soul’ (cf. Lat. *animus* < **anamo-*). If this interpretation is correct, the weeping is ascribed to the cow and the text can be read and rendered as follows:

¹¹⁸ Jackson [Rova] 2006, 2014.

¹¹⁹ Cf., among others, Güntert 1914, Benveniste 1967, Burrow 1973 on the categories of *daēva-* and *ahura-*.

Yt 44.20cd
yāiš ḡqm karapā usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā
yācā kauuā qnmānī urūdōiātā

In accordance with those (words) with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the **cow** for wrath(ful) (treatment) and with **which (wrath)** (the) **Kavi** makes (the cow) weep in her soul.

Although the sense of the Iranian passage is not completely clear, it represents an important piece of evidence. Indeed, it is the only text including a reference to the motif of 'lamenting' in an account similar to the Old Indic Vala-story. The Avestan corpus does not provide us with extensive textual material for the reconstruction of the Iranian account, but the use of Ved. *rod* 'to cry' and Av. *rud-* 'id.' suggests that this detail was structural to the Indo-Iranian version of a cattle-raid myth.

4.6 *Angirasas' and Marutas' Songs*

Several Rigvedic hymns make reference to Indra's and (Indra/)Bṛhaspati's singing escorts (cf. section 2.3.1 above). During his heroic deed at Vala Bṛhaspati is attended by the Aṅgirasas, the 'seven poets' (Ved. *kārú-*, *vīpra-*)¹²⁰ or 'seers' (Ved. *ṛṣi-*), during the combat with Vṛtra Indra is attended by the Marutas.¹²¹

Ved. *āṅgiras-* is a term of unclear etymology,¹²² which, in the *Rigveda*, mostly occurs in plural to denote a group of characters associated with sacrifice¹²³ and

120 Ved. *kārú-* 'singer' is an etymological cognate of Gk. *κῆρυξ*, cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v., *pace* Beekes 2003, who argues in favour of a non-IE origin of the word. On the meaning of Gk. *κῆρυξ* and Mycenaean cognates cf. Panagl 2007.

121 Cf. RV 4.16.3c *divā itthā jījanat saptā kārūn* "in just that way he [= Indra?] begot the seven bards of heaven"; RV 4.2.15ac *ádthā mātūr uśasaḥ saptā vīprā*, *jáyemahi ... āṅgirasobhavema* "then as the seven inspired poets might we be born from mother Dawn". Ved. *saptā vīprāh/vīprāsah* is also attested in RV 3.31.5b; 6.22.2b.

122 In sg. the term occurs as an epithet of Agni, god of fire and sacrifice, who is imagined as the Aṅgirasas' father in the Vedic literature (Shende 1950:108–131). Since Agni, the Aṅgiras, has the function of mediator and messenger in the *Rigveda*, Mondy 1978 proposes an etymological connection with ἄγγελος, which, however, remains unclear. Watkins 1995:421, fn. 10 reconstructs a [**h₂nǵh₁l-o-*], of obscure meaning and derivation, as underlying Ved. *āṅgiras-* and Gk. ἄγγελος. On Gk. ἄγγαρος 'Persian messenger' (Aeschl. *Ag.* 282+) cf. Rostowzew 1906. The term is probably a borrowing from an Indo-Iranian source (Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. ἄγγαρος; see also Schmitt 1971:97–100, Mancini 1995–1996, Brust 2008²:17 ff.).

123 RV 10.67.2cd *vīpram padām āṅgirasob dádhānā*, *yajñásya dhāma prathamám mananta* "the Aṅgirasas, establishing their inspired word [laying their inspired track], pondered the first foundation of the sacrifice".

poetic activity.¹²⁴ In the framework of the Vala-myth, the Angirasas are said to help (Indra/)Bṛhaspati both in the quest for the Paṇis' cows and in the god's victory celebration, cf.

RV 2.15.8a

bhinád valám aṅgīrobhir grṇānāḥ

Being sung by the Aṅgirasas, he split the cave

RV 1.62.3

īdrasyāṅgīrasām ceṣṭau

vidát sarāmā tánayāya dhāsīm

bṛhaspátir bhinád ádriṃ vidád gāḥ

sām usrīyābhir vāvaśanta nárah

At the desire of Indra and the Aṅgirasas, Saramā found the wellspring for posterity. Bṛhaspati: he split the rock; he found the cows. **The men bellowed together with the ruddy (cows).**

TRANSL. JAMISON–BRERETON 2014, modified by the author

Elsewhere the roles of Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgirasas seem to merge. For instance, in RV 10.67 Bṛhaspati intonates, and thus leads, the song of praise, which is performed together with the Angirasas, cf.

RV 10.67.3

haṃsaír iva sákhibhir vāvadadbhir

aśmanmāyāni náhanā vyáśyan

bṛhaspátir abhikánikradad gá

utá prástaud úc ca vidvāṃ agāyat

Along with his comrades, who were constantly gabbling like geese, while he was throwing open the fastenings made of stone, while **he kept roaring to the cows, Bṛhaspati both started the praise song and struck up the melody, as knowing one.**

124 Cf. MacDonell 1897:142–143, Oberlies 2012:223. A reference to the role of the Aṅgirasas during the first sacrifice is also likely to be preserved in RV 10.63.7ab *yébhyo hótrām prathamām āyejé manuh*, *sámiddhāgnir manasā sapta hótrbhiḥ* “you for whom Manu, with his fire kindled by mind, along with the seven Hotars, first attracted Hotrā (Libation) with sacrifice”.

As already pointed out, this stanza allows us to recognize a concurrence of disarticulated sounds of the *Āṅgirasas* (*vāvadadbhiḥ*, pāda [a]) and the articulated song of praise, started by *Bṛhaspati* (*utá prástaud úc ca vidvām agāyat*, [d]). This twofold reference (*vāvadadbhiḥ* vs *prástaut*) may imply that *Bṛhaspati* somehow brings order into the *Āṅgirasas*' chant, in a way which vaguely resembles Athena transforming the disarticulated *goos* of the Gorgons into a *thrēnos* (cf. chapter 5, section 2, 21).

Finally, the *Āṅgirasas* are occasionally credited with the splitting of Vala, cf.

RV 4.2.15cd
divás putrá āṅgirasó bhavem_a
drim_a rujema dhanínam śúcántaḥ

Might we become sons of heaven, *Āṅgirasas*. Might we break the rock that holds the prize, as we blaze.

The figures of the *Āṅgirasas* and *Bṛhaspati* stand so close that the god bears the epithet *āṅgirasá-* ('belonging to the *Āṅgirasas*').¹²⁵ Such a tie is commonly thought to lie at the basis of *Bṛhaspati*'s association with the number 'seven', which is reflected by several epithets of the god, such as *saptásya-* 'having seven mouths' (RV 4.50.4c), *saptáraśmi-* 'having seven reins' (RV 4.50.4d), *saptágu-* 'having seven cows' and, last but not least, 'seven-headed', which applies to the poetic insight found by the god in RV 10.67.1a (cf. chapter 8, section 4, 1):

RV 10.47.6
prá saptágum rtádhitim sumedhām
bṛhaspátim matír áchā jigāti
yá āṅgirasó námasopasádyo
a'smábhyaṃ citráṃ vṛṣaṇam rayín dāḥ

To the one with seven cows [/Saptagu], whose poetic vision is truth, to *Bṛhaspati* of good wisdom my thought goes forth, to him, the *Āṅgirasa*, who is to be reverently approached with homage. To us give bright, bullish wealth.

¹²⁵ Cf. RV 6.73.1ab *yó adribhūt prathamajā rtāvā*, *bṛhaspátir āṅgirasó haviśmān* "he who is splitter of the stone, first born, possessed of truth—*Bṛhaspati* *Āṅgirasa*, possessing the oblation". The epithet *Āṅgirasá-* (*Bṛhaspati* in RV 4.40.1d, 10.47.6c, 10.68.2a, 10.164.4c, *Savitṛ* in RV 10.149.5b) came to be interpreted as a patronymic within the Old Indic tradition (cf. Zimmer 1914:10–11).

At the same time, the role of the Angirasas is comparable to that of the Marutas in the Vṛtra-myth and vice versa (cf. section 2.3.1 above). Being connected with the natural phenomena of storm and wind,¹²⁶ the Marutas are occasionally portrayed as singing or playing an instrument, cf.

RV 1.85.10

ūrdhvāṃ nunudre_a 'vatá tá ójasā
dāḍṛhāṇām cid bibhidur ví párvatam
dhámanto vāṇām marútaḥ sudānavo
māde sómasya ráṇyāni cakrire

They pushed the well upward with their power; **they split apart the mountain**, though it was firmly fixed. **Blowing their music**, the Marutas of good drops performed these joyous (deeds) in the exhilaration of soma.¹²⁷

Furthermore, they are said to accompany and celebrate Indra on occasion of his combat against Vṛtra, cf.

RV 5.29.2

ānu yád īm marúto mandasānām
ārcann índram papiváṃsaṃ sutásya
ādatta vājram abhí yád áhiṃ hánn
apó yahvír asṛjat sártavá u

When the Marutas chanted to him after he became exhilarated, **to Indra** who had drunk of the pressed soma, he took up the mace. **When he (had) smashed the serpent**, he released the exuberant waters to flow

RV 5.30.5d, 6ab

6. *vísṇvā apó ajayad dāsápatniḥ*
túbhyéd eté marútaḥ suśévā
ārcantṛy arkám ...

¹²⁶ On the Marutas cf. Macdonnell 1897:77–81, Oberlies 2012:152–155, and Rau 1971 with literature. Given the warlike character of the Marutas, it is possible to compare the passage with *Il.* 20.51 αὖ ἐ δ' Ἄρης ἐτέρωθεν ἐρεμνῇ λαίλαπι Ἴσος “and over against her shouted Ares, dread as a dark whirlwind” (section 4.1 above).

¹²⁷ Cf. RV 1.19.4, 1.85.2, 1.166.7, 3.14.4, 5.52.1, 5.57.5, 5.60.8, 7.35.9, 8.29.10.

He conquered all the waters, those whose husband [= Vṛtra] was a Dāsa.
 // **Just for you do these friendly Marutas chant the chant.**

It is thus clear that the roles of the Angirasas and the Marutas parallel each other: both groups of characters are identified as witnesses and celebrators of the heroic deeds accomplished by their divine leader, Bṛhaspati and/or Indra.

4.7 *Acoustic Dimensions of the Narratives: Common Traits*

Greek and Old Indic mythological sources emphasise diverse 'sound effects' of the respective heroic endeavours. These acoustic dimensions belong to different actors of the stories: (i) the [HERO], (ii) the defeated [ENEMY], and (iii) the [HERO'S HELPERS]. More specifically:

- (i) [HERO-SHOUTS]: The victorious hero shouts a battle cry or exults with a loud utterance. In *P. 12.11* (Περσεὺς ὁπότε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος) the reading ἄυσεν is attested in the manuscript tradition and is defensible. Homeric parallels suggest that ἄω 'to shout' may describe Perseus' battle cry or the hero's shout of triumph over defeated Medusa. In the *Rigveda*, a 'loud voice' is a peculiar trait of god Bṛhaspati, the Lord of Sacred Formulation. Indra and/or Bṛhaspati split(s) Vala by roaring, (cf. *indro valám ... karēneva ví cakartā ráveṇa* "Indra cut apart Vala ... with a roar like a tool", RV 10.67.6ab). This accomplishment is often imagined to overlap with the invention of poetry and ritual, as well as with musical performance. For this reason, in RV 10.67 Bṛhaspati is said to 'have started a praise song' (cf. *utá prástaud úc ca vidvám agāyat* RV 10.67.3d).
- (ii) [ENEMY-LAMENTS]: The Gorgons themselves and Medusa's progeny are connected with the trait of loud voice and/or music. The iconography of the Gorgons hints at their loud vocalisations. Furthermore, the names of Medusa's mythological son and grandson are synchronically (Χρυσάωρ) and diachronically (Γηρυών/Γηρυονεύς, cf. IE *ǵar-) connected with the semantic field of 'sound' and 'music'. In *Pythian Twelve*, the motif of the voices of the surviving Gorgons is well developed (cf. *P. 12.21* Εὐρυάλας ... ἐρικλάγκτων γόνον). In the light of the Greek mythological data, the Pindaric passage may actually reflect a knowing reference to a traditional thematic material: the powerful voices of the Gorgons.

The motif of the enemy's cry or lament seems to be an inherited element in Indo-Iranian cattle-raid myths. The Paṇis, the cattle herders of Vala, are said to lament (Ved. *rod*) over their loss after Indra robs them (cf. *árodayat paṇím*, RV 10.67.6d). A verbal derivative of the same Indo-Iranian root applies to the lamentation of Zaraθuštra's enemies (or the

cow) in Yt 44.20d. The lexical coincidence hints at an inherited detail, which survived in both the Indic and the Iranian tradition.

(iii) [HELPER–CELEBRATES]: In both *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67 the newly invented artistic creation is linked to the figure of the hero's helper(s)/escort. While in *Pythian Twelve* Athena, Perseus' δαίμων, creates the *nomos of many heads*, a tune connected to the 'contests, which stir people' (cf. *P.* 12.24), in both the Vala- and the Vṛtra-myths, the hero's helpers celebrate Indra's and/or (Indra/)Bṛhaspati's achievement with a song of praise. The detail of the Old Indic narrative is not isolated: in the Vṛtra-episode the Marutas intone a chant to cheer Indra as a winner (*árcann índram ... yád áhiṃ hán*, RV 5.29.2). Finally, in the Vala-myth, Bṛhaspati performs a song of praise together with the Angirasas (cf. *hamsáir iva sákhibhir vávadadbhiḥ ... bṛhaspátih ... utá prástaud úc ca vidvám agāyat*, RV 10.67.3); the hero's song is the tool for splitting Vala and leading away the cows. At the same time, Bṛhaspati's roar marks the beginning of the chant, which celebrates his own endeavour.

5 Overview

Before reconsidering the phraseological match between [(ATHENA/)GOD–INVENTS–MELODY–MANY-HEADS_{gen.pl.}]* and [(BṚHASPATI/)GOD–INVENTS–POETIC THOUGHT–SEVEN-HEADS_{adj.}], I recapitulate the phraseological and thematic correspondences shared by the Perseus' myth and the Old Indic myths of Vala and Vṛtra in schematic form, cf.

TABLE 12 Common traits between the Perseus myth and the Vala, Vṛtra, and Trita myths

1. Characteristics of the Enemy and His/Her Abode (Mytho-geography)			
Gk.	– [WATER STREAM]	Hes. <i>Th.</i> 274	Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυ- τοῦ Ὀκεανοῖο
	– [ENCLOSURE]	Pi. fr. 70a.15–17 (= <i>Dith.</i> 1.15–17) Cf. <i>Od.</i> 13.96	φυγόντα ... μέλαν ἔρκος ἄλμας Φόρκυνος ... λιμήν
	– [STONE]	Pi. <i>P.</i> 10.48	λίθινον θάνατον φέρων
Ved.	– [WATER STREAM]	RV 10.108.1d	<i>kathāṃ rasāyā atarah páyāṃsi</i>
	– [ENCLOSURE]	RV 3.30.10ab Cf. Ved.	<i>valāḥ ... vrajó góḥ</i> <i>paridhí-, párvatasya dṛṃhitáni,</i> <i>púr-</i>
	– [STONE]	[VALA] =	Ved. <i>ádri-</i> 'the rock', <i>ás māsyā-</i> <i>avatá-</i> 'stone-mouthed cistern'

TABLE 12 Common traits between the Perseus myth and the Vala, Vṛtra, and Trita myths (*cont.*)

2.	[HERO	KILLS (*g^uhen-)	SERPENT (*h₁og^uh-i-)]
Gk.	<i>P.</i> 10.45 [PERSEUS] <i>O.</i> 13.63–64	ἐπεφνέν ...	Γοργόνα ὀφιδέος ... Γοργόνος
Ved.	RV 1.32.2c [INDRA] cf. RV 1.32.5a e.g. RV 1.52.10cd [INDRA] cf. RV 2.11.20d [INDRA] RV 6.18.5bc [INDRA] NB RV 10.67 [INDRA]	<i>áhann</i> <i>abhinat</i> <i>bhinát</i> <i>hán</i> <i>ví ... abhinat</i>	<i>áhim</i> <i>vṛtrám</i> <i>vṛtrásya ... śírah</i> <i>valám</i> <i>valám</i> <i>mūrdhānam arbudásya</i>
Av.	Yt 14.40+ <i>θραεταονō</i>	<i>janať</i>	<i>ažim dahākam</i>
3.	[HERO	DRIVES (*h₁aġ-) away	GOODS]
Gk.	Eur. <i>TrGF</i> 129a [PERSEUS] [MARRIAGE] [KILL-ENEMY] + ([TAKE/LEAD-WOMAN] >) [MARRY] [Apollod.] 2.4.4 αὐτῷ δώσειν γυναῖκα ... τὸ κῆτος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἔλυσεν	ἄγου <i>sám aġayat</i> <i>ajáh</i> <i>úd ... ājat</i>	(με ...) ἄλοχον <i>vásūni</i> <i>apám</i> <i>gáh</i>
Ved.	RV 6.73.3a <i>bṛhaspátih</i> RV 3.45.2b [INDRA] RV 2.24.3c → [WATERS]/[COWS] :: [WIVES], [to LEAD-GOODS] cf. [to MARRY] RV 10.68.2 <i>sám góbhīr aṅgirasó náksamāṇo</i> , <i>bhága ivéd aryamāṇam nināya</i> <i>jāne mitró ná dámpatī anakti</i> , <i>bṛhaspate vājáyāśīṁr ivājaú</i> “(Bellowing) with the cows, (Bṛhaspati) Aṅgiras, coming near, led (the Aṅgirasas) together with the cows, as Bhaga leads Aryaman. As the ally among the people [= Agni] anoints the household pair, he anoints (the Aṅgirasas). O Bṛhaspati, incite them like swift (horses) in a contest”		
Av.	Yt 5.34no <i>uta hē vaṇta azāni</i> / <i>saṇhauuāci arəṇauuāci</i> “And that I may carry off his (Aži Dahāka’s) two beloved wives, Saṇhavac and Arəṇavac”		
4.	Acoustic Dimensions of the Narratives		
	[HERO	SHOUTS	ENEMY]
Gk.	<i>P.</i> 12.11 Περσεύς [of ENEMY] <i>P.</i> 12.20–21 Εὐρυάλας [HELPER] <i>P.</i> 12.22–24 θεός	ἄυσεν LAMENT(s) ἐρικλᾶγκταν γόνον CELEBRATES > FINDS SONG εὔρε, εὐροῖσα	τρίτον κασιγνητᾶν μέρος MULTIPLE HEADS] κεφαλὰν πολλὰν νόμον εὐκλέα λαοσσών μναστήρ’ ἀγώ- νων

TABLE 12 Common traits between the Perseus myth and the Vala, Vṛtra, and Trita myths (*cont.*)

Ved.	[HERO	SHOUTS/DESTROYS	ENEMY]
	RV 10.67.6 <i>índro</i>	<i>karéṇeva ví cakartā ráveṇa</i>	<i>valám</i>
	[ENEMY	LAMENTS]	
	RV 10.67.6d <i>pañím</i>	<i>árodayat</i>	
	[HELPERS/CHIEF GOD	CELEBRATES > FINDS SONG	MULTIPLE HEADS]
	RV 10.67.3 <i>bṛhaspátir</i>	<i>abhikánikradad gá</i>	<i>utá prástaud úc ca vidvám</i>
			<i>agāyat</i>
	“While he kept roaring to the cows, Bṛhaspati both started the praise song and struck up the melody, as knowing one”		
	NB RV 10.67.1 <i>pitá naḥ</i>	<i>avindat</i>	<i>imám dhíyaṃ saptásūrṣṇīm</i>

6 [GOD–INVENTS–SONG–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}]

The comparative study shows that the episodes from the Perseus myths share a variety of narrative details (motifs, collocations, themes) with the Old Indic and Iranian myths of Vala, Vṛtra, Trita Āptya and Ōraētaona. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Greek and the Indo-Iranian myths derive from one and the same mythological narrative. The Perseus myths are the result of a merger of different elements, which were partly adopted from neighbouring traditions and later matured in the framework of the Greek world (cf. chapter 7, section 3). A similar statement applies to the myths of Vala, Vṛtra, Trita and Ōraētaona: the stories exhibit reflections of themes, which are found in almost all IE traditions, but thrived and came to be shaped with specific traits within the Indo-Iranian cultural framework.

Nevertheless, my analysis shows that episodes from the Perseus myths and the proposed Indo-Iranian comparanda reflect the survival of the same structural and thematic ‘building blocks’, namely: motifs, *base collocations*, and themes, within two diverse but related linguistic and literary traditions. The Greek and the Vedic *base collocation* [GOD–INVENTS–SONG–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}] acquires new weight.

As TABLE 12 makes evident, the collocation applies to the ‘celebratory/commemorative’ moment of the Greek and Vedic narratives. From the narratological point of view, this is the *culminating* point of two stories which are different but similar: the phraseme marks the moment in which the hero triumphs over his snakelike enemy and is about to free an imprisoned being, carrying away precious booty. At the same time, the two *comparata* stress vari-

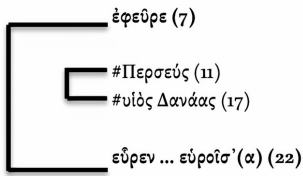
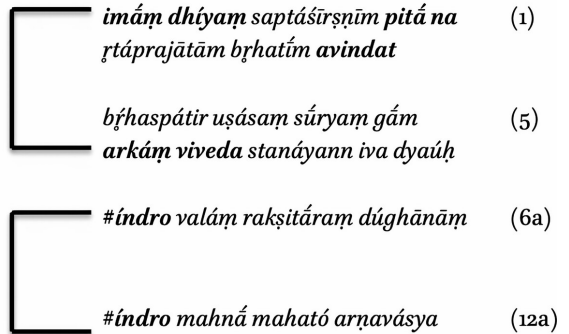
ous acoustic elements of their narratives, namely: the hero's roar, the enemy's lamentation, the helper's music.

Last and most importantly, the collocation acquires an important meta-poetic value: the 'tune of many heads', 'this poetic insight of seven heads' are celebrative artistic creations, which grant glory and prosperity to both the victorious heroes, who inspired them, and their mythological and historical performers. They are divine creations, which link the mythical past and the historical present of the ritual/performance. They were created by gods (Athena, Bṛhaspati and his priestly escort), but they are also a concrete reality for (ritual-)performers in their respective settings: the Panhellenic victor and the Vedic poet-sacrificer. The contexts in which the two collocations occur are indeed analogous. Both Pindar and Ayāsyā Āṅgīrasa introduce the structure [GOD–INVENTS–SONG–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}] in a meta-aetiological framework. Pindar recalls the mythological origin of the song which allowed Midas his triumph at the Pythian games (cf. chapter 1, section 4), Ayāsyā Āṅgīrasa identifies the 'poetic insight of seven heads' as 'this poetic insight', i.e. with the Rigvedic hymn itself (cf. chapter 8, section 4).

A further remarkable structural trait shared by *Pythian Twelve* and its Old Indic comparandum is the use of ring compositions within the two texts. Here I would like to point out how *similar terms mark analogous sets of lexical and semantic repetitions*:

– In both the Greek ode and the Vedic hymn verbs meaning 'to invent' (Gk. εὐρίσκω and Ved. *ved*) build lexical repetitions (cf. chapter 2, section 4, chapter 8, section 3): in the *Pythian* ode, Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε at 7 is echoed by εὔρεν θεός· ἄλλὰ νιν εὐροῖσ' (α) at 22; in RV 10.67 *imāṁ dhīyam ... avindat* (1ab) is reprised by *arkām viveda* (5d). The Pindaric reiterations frame the mythological excursus focusing on Perseus' endeavour; the Rigvedic repetitions mark the first section of the hymn, which emphasises the role of Bṛhaspati and the Āṅgīrasas in the heroic deed at Vala: stanzas 6 and 12 build a second ring, since both stanzas display the name of Indra at the beginning of pāda (a). A comparable structural strategy may be identified in *Pythian Twelve*, where the name Περσεύς and the synonym expression υἱὸς Δανάας occur at the beginning of 11 and 17 and thus build the most 'internal circle' within the Pindaric mythological excursus (see below, SCHEME 6).

A second remarkable structural coincidence between the comparanda is the semantic repetition of terms for [HEADS], which build further 'rings' within the poems. In Pindar's ode, terms meaning [HEADS] occur three times. At 9 Pindar mentions the heads of the serpents (κεφαλᾶις) hissing over dead Medusa. The same word occurs at 23, in connection with the name of Athena's newly invented song (ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον). Additionally, the word

Pythian Twelve*Rigveda 10.67*SCHEME 6 *P. 12 and RV 10.67: rings built with [to FIND–ARTISTIC CREATION] and [HERO'S NAME]*

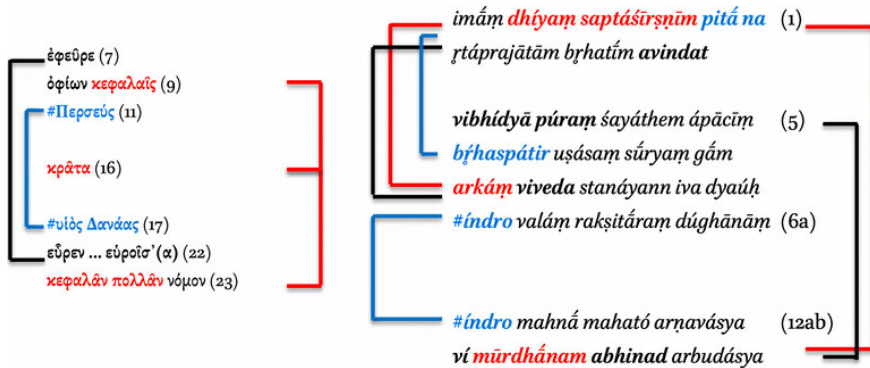
κρᾶτα is placed in the centre of the epinicion (16). The threefold occurrence of [HEADS] thus emphasises the aetiology of the *nomos of many heads*. The term *head* is connected *directly* to the *producers of the sound* which Athena then reproduced; *indirectly* to the enemy defeated by Perseus, since Medusa is beheaded.

Semantic repetitions in RV 10.67 seem to work alike. The hymn mentions the 'poetic insight of seven heads' (*dhíyaṃ saptásīrṣṇīm*) in 1a and concludes with a reference to Indra smashing the head of Arbuda (*vímūrdhānam abhinad arbudásya*) in 12b. Just like in Pindar's ode, the 'poetic insight of seven heads' is *directly* linked to the *producers* of the 'poetic insight' and, *indirectly*, i.e. by way of *resonance*, with the splitting of Indra's enemy's head. In this connection, it is significant that the splitting of Arbuda's head is described by means of the same lexemes, which regularly apply to the Vala-myth,¹²⁸ i.e. Ved. (*ví-*)*bhed* 'to split', and through the *base collocation* [HERO–SPLITS–ENEMY'S BODY PART(head)], commonly referred to the killing of personified Vala.¹²⁹ This coincidence is actually emphasised by one internal ring of the hymn, built with the repetition of *ví-bhed* (5a, 12b). The series of identified repetitions is presented in SCHEME 7 (below).

As this structural analysis makes evident, *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda 10.67* display circular repetitions, which are differently articulated, but resemble each other. Just as related traditions display analogous reflections of motifs,

128 As already pointed out (cf. chapter 8, section 4, st. 12), the victory over Arbuda is described by means of *ví-bhed* only in this passage.

129 Cf. [(*ví-*)*bhed*–*śíras*–acc.] in RV 8.6.6, 8.76.2.



SCHEME 7 *Pythian* 12 and *Rigveda* 10.67: rings built with [to FIND—ARTISTIC CREATION], [HEAD], [HERO'S DEED/NAME]

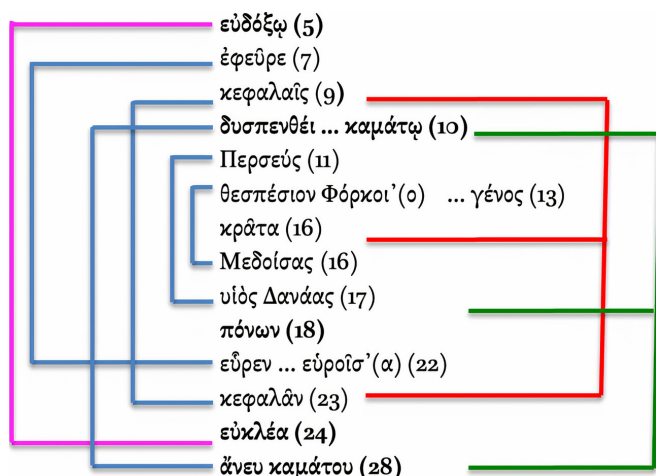
themes and collocations, their traditional poetic forms operate with similar compositional tools, namely: circular structures realised through the reprise of the same lexical and semantic elements.

The remarkable coincidences between *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67 may also be explained in the light of a similar use of the myths. Circular repetitions, I argue, emphasise the cyclic dimension of performance and re-performance as well as the meta-aetiological nature of poems/songs which configure as repetitions of a divine/ritual poem/song. Finally, both *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67 are the means by which memory and glory are bestowed upon the story concerning the birth of 'multiple-headed songs' and the performers of the 'multiple-headed songs'. The two myths of poetic creation may thus be contextualised in the framework of similar states of things, namely: those concerning the role of poetry and ritual in connection with the achievement of glory.

Midas' δόξα and Br̥haspati's *dákṣinā*

1 Midas' Toil and Glory

Pythian Twelve offers a perfect example of how epinician lyric poetry momentarily collapses the distinction between myth and reality.¹ This poetic mechanism is also reflected by structural elements of the ode:²



SCHEME 8 Lexical repetitions in *Pythian Twelve*

The identification of possible overlaps between the historical and mythological protagonists of the poem may be guided by the analysis of lexical and semantic reiterations. A study of this type shows us that, on the one hand, Midas is comparable to Perseus, on the other, Athena's musical skill resembles that of the winner at the musical agon.

1 As formulated by Nagy 1990a:146, "just as the Games, as ritual, momentarily collapse the distinction between hero and athlete, so too does epinician lyric poetry".

2 For a complete list and analysis of lexical and semantic repetitions within the Pindaric poem cf. chapter 2, section 4.

2 Midas and Perseus

As already touched upon, terms belonging to the semantic field of ‘toil/trouble’ occur three times within the ode (καμάτω, 10, πόνων, 18, καμάτου, 28, in green, SCHEME 8). The insistence on the concept ‘effort’ creates a parallel between Midas’ endeavour and Perseus’ accomplishment.³ More specifically, in the light of Σ P. 12 *inscr.* Dr., the reference to κάματος ‘toil, effort’ at 28–32 is usually interpreted as a reference to an accident Midas had during his musical performance. Thus, the aulete achieved victory by means of ‘effort’, while Perseus was rescued by Athena from the perils of the encounter with the Gorgon(s). As already anticipated (cf. chapter 1, section 3), it is impossible to verify the truthfulness of the ancient anecdote about Midas and the hypothesis that the story is an invention by the scholiast may not be completely ruled out. However, even if the story were created by an ancient commentator, the *gnōmē* might entail a reference to the laudandus and his mythological alter ego, Perseus. In Pindaric epinicia, κάματος and πόνος apply to both the struggle of the Panhellenic winners (e.g. κάματος: P. 5.47, N. 8.50, I. 8.1; πόνος: O. 5.15, N. 6.24, N. 10.24+) and the troubles endured by the protagonists of the myth (e.g. κάματος: N. 1.70, πόνος: P. 4.178). Therefore, the poet might have introduced a *gnōmē* suiting both Midas as ‘the victor of Hellas’ and Perseus as ‘the defeater of Medusa and Polydectes’.

Midas and Perseus seem to have even more in common. First, they share some kind of tie with Athena: Perseus is Athena’s protégé (18), but the goddess also helped Midas in his victory. She invented the τέχνα in which the aulete excelled at Delphi, ‘for mortal men to have’ (22). Finally, as the result of their accomplishments, Midas and Perseus are celebrated by a song which confers them glory. At 5, Pindar explicitly mentions ‘this crown’ (στεφάνωμα τόδε), the hymn performed in honour of the Pythian winner. But since crowns are ‘woven objects’ (cf. στεφανηπλόκος, Simon.+), ‘this crowning hymn’ recalls Athena’s poetic creation after Perseus’ victory, which consists in a ‘woven’ *thrēnos* (cf. διαπλέξαισ[α], 8). In this respect, Midas stands close to Perseus, while Pindar, the weaver of Midas’ στεφάνωμα (i.e. *Pythian Twelve*), stands close to Athena, who weaved the *nomos* of many heads for Perseus.

The poet defines the winning aulete as εὔδοξος (5), ‘possessing good fame’: Midas’ glory primarily derives from his Panhellenic victory, but the actual manifestation of his long-lasting fame is inextricably connected with his being celebrated in poetry i.e. with Pindar’s epinicion. However, as we know, the central part of *Pythian Twelve* deals with episodes from the Perseus’ myth. This

3 Köhnken 1971.

means that Midas' celebratory ode is a song about Perseus. It follows that Midas achieves his own fame through Perseus' glory, which here literally configures as κλέος, etymologically 'what is heard' (*nomen rei actae* from IE **kleu-* 'to listen, hear') about Perseus in Pindar's words.⁴

3 Midas and Athena

Good fame and glory are a further crucial theme of the ode. Pindar introduces two compounds with the structure [GOOD (Gk. εὖ°, IE **h₁su-*)°FAME/GLORY (Gk. δόξα, κλέος)]: εὐδοξος (5) and εὐκλέης (24), in pink (SCHEME 8).⁵ Both forms occur in close proximity to references to Athena's invention, which frame Pindar's mythological digression about Perseus, cf.

P. 12.5–8, 22–24

δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξω Μίδᾳ,
αὐτόν τέ νιν Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνη, τάν ποτε
Παλλὰς ἐφεύρε θρασειᾶν <Γοργόνων>
οὐλίον θρήνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνᾃ·

...

εὗρεν θεός· ἀλλά νιν εὐροῖσ' ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν,
ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον,
εὐκλέα λαοσσόων μναστῆρ' ἀγώνων⁶

Through the set of lexical, semantic, and phraseological reiterations in bold we can reconstruct the circular chain in which Pindar's song of praise bestows glory upon the Panhellenic winner: (i) Midas' fame is celebrated by Pindar through a song about Perseus' κλέος (see above, section 2); at the same time, (ii) Perseus' κλέος was first celebrated by Athena with her invention, the 'tune of many heads', which, in turn, (iii) was performed by Midas at Delphi and allowed him to achieve glory. Because he possesses great skill in the αὐλητική τέχνη and because he re-enacted the Gorgons' lament with the κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμος in the Pythian games, Midas stands close to Athena, the *primus inventor* of the

4 "The word *kleos* in Pindar's praise poetry applies equally to the man of the present and the hero of the past [...] Moreover, what is being praised about the man of the present, such as the athlete, is ideologically parallel to what is being praised about the hero" (Nagy 1990a:150). Cf. also Erbse 1999:30–32. On the link between praise and memorial cf. Thomas 2007.

5 On δόξα and κλέος as synonyms cf. Massetti 2019:116–117.

6 Cf. chapter 4, sections 3–4, chapter 5, section 2.

tune of many heads. As noted by Richard Martin (2003:163), “Athena resembles an actual contestant in the auletic contest”. In fact, the mimetic nature of the *nomos* encapsulates the potential for a perpetual re-enactment of the Gorgons’ lament. In this way, Athena’s and Perseus’ glory may be perpetually recalled and celebrated by every future aulete executing the *nomos of many heads*. At the same time, every future performer at the auletic contests might attain glory through the *nomos* and shine through Athena’s and Perseus’ κλέος. In this way, Midas’ glory is linked to the condition of ‘prosperity’ (Gk. ὄλβος) fulfilled by the god, cf.

P. 12.28–30

εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου
οὐ φαίνεται· ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἥτοι σάμερον
δαίμων ...⁷

I propose that the reference to this ‘circular’ mechanism, which characterises the spreading of fame and might be voluntarily or involuntarily mirrored by the ode’s ring-composition, is the key to interpreting the complicated metaphor that is applied to the ‘tune of many heads’ at 24. Here, the newly invented *nomos* is defined as the ‘glory-making memento of contests which stir people’ (εὐκλέα λαοσσών μναστήρ ἄγώνων, cf. chapter 5, section 2, 24). The fact that εὐκλέης is referred to the *nomos* stresses the indissoluble link between ‘memory/thought’ (μναστήρ cf. IE **mneh*₂- ‘to think to’) and the attainment of glory through poetry and music.⁸ The compound εὐκλέης might be understood as factitive ‘which produces/makes good glory’ like elsewhere in Pindar.⁹ Furthermore, as already pointed out, Pindar applies one of Athena’s epic epithets, λαοσσός (*Il.* 13.128, *Od.* 22.210) to ἄγών ‘contest’, i.e. to the occasion in which the *nomos* is (potentially) performed (cf. chapter 9, section 4.3). The ‘melody of many heads’ thus consists in the re-enactment of the Gorgons’ defeat and is a memento of Perseus’ and Athena’s warrior spirit. The celebration of Midas’ glory, like the victor’s crown, is the reward which makes the Panhellenic champion immortal. He *receives glory* as a hero, i.e. as a sort of Perseus’ doppelgänger, and as the most skilful musical performer, i.e. as the heir of Athena’s musical gift.

⁷ Cf. chapter 4, sections 3–4, chapter 5, section 4.

⁸ West 2007:33 ff., Massetti 2019:79–83.

⁹ E.g. *O.* 2.90 εὐκλέας οἰστοὺς ἰέντες “sending arrows which make (people) glorious”. Εὐδοξος may have the same value in *I.* 8.1.

4 Gk. δόξα and Ved. *dákṣinā*

At 5 the co-occurrence of δέξαι and εὐδόξω creates a wordplay and a sound-effect, which finds a parallel *ex Pindaro ipso*, cf. *P.* 9.73–75 ἃ νιν εὐφρων δέξεται ... δόξαν ἱμερτὰν ἀγαγόντ' ἀπὸ Δελφῶν “and she (sc. Cyrene) will gladly welcome him ... he who brought desired fame from Delphi”.¹⁰ The connection between δέχομαι and δόξα, which is perceived at a synchronic level, is also grounded on the diachronic one. Gk. δόξα and δέχομαι are cognate: δέχομαι is a thematic *e*-grade present from *IE* **dek-* ‘to notice, to receive’ (*LIV*² 109–111, *IEW* 189–190), while δόξα ‘the thing perceived/received’ reflects **dok-tja-* or **dok-sa-* (cf. Chantraine DELG, Frisk GEW, Beekes EDG s.v. δόξα). The connection between terms for ‘glory, fame’ and the notion of ‘receiving’ is a well-developed Pindaric theme.¹¹ Indeed, the poet compares glory (κλέος, κύδος) to a reward (μισθός),¹² cf.

N. 7.63

κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω·
ποτίφορος δ' ἀγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος

I proclaim genuine fame, for that is the proper reward for good men

I. 1.47–51

μισθὸς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώποις γλυκύς,
... ὃς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κύδος ἀβρόν,
εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται, πολι-
τὰν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας ἄωτον

For a different payment for different tasks is sweet to men ... But he who wins luxurious glory in games or as a soldier by being praised gains the highest profit, the finest words from tongues of citizens and foreigners.¹³

The two passages clearly describe the link between glory achieved through (poetic) praise (εὐαγορηθεὶς, *I.* 7.51, αἰνέσω, *N.* 7.63), and reward (μισθός, *N.* 7.63, κέρδος, *I.* 7.51). *P.* 12.5 follows the same pattern: Acragas is here entreated to

10 Cf. also Eur. *Herc.* 624. A wedding metaphor underlies the verse, cf. Carson 1982.

11 Cf. Kurke 1991:235–238, Race 1982. On the contract agreement (σύνθεσις) between patron and poet cf. Gentili 1981.

12 On this term cf. Will 1975.

13 On the ode cf. Bundy 1986⁴.

receive (δέξαι) a song (στέφανωμα τόδε) for Midas of good fame (εὐδόξω Μίδῃ). In this context Pindar's song of praise which *makes good glory* (cf. also εὐκλέα ... μναστήρ' ἀγώνων, 24) is the ultimate reward for the Panhellenic winner.

The state of things illustrated through the Pindaric passages is complementary to the one found in the Vedic hymns that describe the mechanism of the *dákṣiṇā*-, the fundamental dynamic of the Vedic world, "without which sacrifice cannot happen" (Oberlies 2012:223). Ved. *dákṣiṇā*-, reflecting **dek-s-i-neh*₂-, is a linguistic cognate of δόξα and designates the auspicious disposition of a deity towards the sacrificer (Candotti–Neri–Pontillo 2020, 2021) which concretely manifests itself as a material recompense to the poet/sacrificer for his performance, cf. RV 10.107.7ab *dákṣiṇāśvaṃ dákṣiṇā gām dadāti*, *dákṣiṇā candrām utá yád dhíraṇyam* "the *dákṣiṇā* gives the horse; the *dákṣiṇā* the cow; the *dákṣiṇā* the lustrous and what is golden". As several passages make evident, the *dákṣiṇā* is the means by which Vedic patrons achieve glory and immortality, cf.

RV 1.40.4ab

yó vāgháte dádāti sūnáram vásu
sá dhatte ákṣiti śrávaḥ

Who gives to the cantor liberal goods, he acquires imperishable fame¹⁴

RV 1.125.6

dákṣiṇāvatām íd imáni citrá
dákṣiṇāvatām díví súryāsaḥ
dákṣiṇāvanto amṛtam bhajante
dákṣiṇāvantaḥ prá tiranta āyuh

Only for the givers of *dakṣiṇās* there are these brilliant (bounties) here; for the givers of *dakṣiṇās* there are suns in heaven. **Givers of *dakṣiṇās* have a share in immortality**; givers of *dakṣiṇās* lengthen their own lifetime.

TRANSL. JAMISON–BRERETON 2014, modified by the author

14 The idea that the 'imperishable glory' of the poet reflects on the patron (cf. von Reden 1995:32–33 and Krummen 1990:49–50) is attested in Greece and in other IE traditions, cf. Ib. S151.47–48 καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς || ὥς κατ' αἰοιδᾶν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος "also you, Polycrates, will have imperishable fame in a song, according to my glory". On this passage and IE comparanda cf. Nagy 1974:250–251, 1990a:187–188, Watkins 1976, Martin 1984:35, Nagy 2017c, 2017d.

The etymological link between Gk. δόξα and Ved. *dāksinā* and the analogous state of things reflected by Vedic and Greek texts are significant with regard of both *Pythian Twelve* and the proposed comparandum, RV 10.67, which recalls the main events of the Vala-myth. It has often been acknowledged that the role of Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgirasas in this myth can be interpreted as the mythical representation of the poet/sacrificer. In the same way as the poet/sacrificer obtains the *dāksinā* because he pronounces rightly formulated words at the ritual, Bṛhaspati and his priestly escort win the cows thanks to chants and sacred formulations.¹⁵ In this way, they achieve eternal glory among the gods, cf.

RV 10.62.7

indreṇa yujá nīḥ sṛjanta vāgháto
vrajám gómantam aśvínam
sahásram me dádato aṣṭakarnyāḥ
śrávo devéṣu akrata

With Indra as their yokemate, the cantors set loose the pen filled with cows and horses. Giving me a thousand (cows) with cut-branded ears, they made fame for themselves among the gods.

The centrality of the poetic and glorious reward counts as a further common trait between *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67.

5 Conclusions

The study shows that *Pythian Twelve* displays several common traits with a hymn from the tenth book of the *Rigveda*. More specifically, the two poems share a variety of poetic devices which aim at emphasising inherited states of things, such as:

- The centrality of the poetic mythological *aetiology*: both poems have a (meta-)aetiological character. *Pythian Twelve* includes a digression about Athena's invention of the 'tune of many heads', with which Midas won at Delphi; *Rigveda* 10.67 recalls the main events of the Vala-myth in connec-

15 Cf. Oberlies 2012:223, Jackson [Rova] 2014, commenting the Rigvedic passages quoted above. Since Indra and Bṛhaspati are the gods who gained the first mythical *dakṣinā*, they are invoked by the singer who desires a reward, cf. e.g. RV 6.47.20cd *bṛhaspate prá cikitsā gáviṣṭāv*, *itthá saté jaritrá indra pánthām* "O Bṛhaspati, O Indra, be on the lookout for a path for the singer who is in this state on his quest for cattle".

tion with “*this* poem”, i.e. RV 10.67. In turn, the Vala-myth may be interpreted as the aetiological myth of the Vedic sacrifice and of the *dákṣiṇā*, the favourable disposition of the god leading to a ‘reward of the poet’, who participates in the sacrifice.

- The circular organisation of the poetic discourse concerning (meta-) aetiological topics: in this connection, particular relevance is given to the collocation [GOD–INVENTS–MELODY/POETIC THOUGHT–MULTIPLE-HEADED]. In Pindar’s ode, the collocation [(Ἀθάνᾱ)–εὐρίσχω–νόμος_{acc.}–πολλὰ κεφαλᾶ_{gen.pl.}] builds a ring-composition and frames the mythological excursus about Perseus. The *nomos* has many heads because Athena reenacted and transformed the utterances of the Gorgons and the snakes into a work of art. However, the name of the *nomos* recalls the main event of the myth: the decapitation of Medusa. Analogously, in RV 10.67 the ‘poetic thought’ has *seven heads*, because it was created by the seven Aṅgirasas, who helped Bṛhaspati/Indra split Vala. However, the repetition of the term ‘head’ recalls the main endeavour of the protagonist of the myth. Indeed, elements of the collocation [BṚHASPATI–ved–SEVEN-HEADED–POETIC THOUGHT_{acc.}] ‘shape’ interlocking rings in the poem. Since stanza 12 contains a synonymous term for [HEAD], the word for ‘seven-headed’ (1) builds an encompassing circular structure, which links the first and the last stanzas of the poem. Two internal rings are enclosed by this frame: the collocation [GOD–FINDS–SONG] occurs twice within the first half of the hymn, at (1) and (5). In this latter stanza, the first internal ring interlocks with a second one featuring the verb ‘to split apart’ (*vī-bhed*), which is then reprised in the final stanza of the poem. By touching upon the episode of Indra splitting Arbuda’s head (12), the collocation [HERO–SPLITS–ENEMY’S HEAD] recalls both the ‘seven-headed poetic insight’ (1) and the heroic deed, the *śrávas-* (= Gk. κλέος) of which is celebrated through the poetic thought of seven heads, i.e. a poetic creation concomitant to the splitting of Vala (cf. 5).
- The dynamics connected with the achievement of glory through toil and the spreading of glory (and memory) through poetry. Both *Pythian Twelve* and *Rigveda* 10.67 ultimately deal with crucial dynamics of the musical performance, such as the attainment of ‘glory through poetry’ (Pindar), the achievement of the poet’s reward, which ultimately bestows glory on the patron of the sacrifice (*Rigveda*). The myth of Pindar’s *Pythian Twelve* features as the aetiological account of the song of many heads, which is the means to achieve glory (κλέος, δόξα) and prosperity (ὄλβος) in auletic competitions, hence the definition of the *nomos* as “glory-making memento of the contests which stir people”. For this reason, Midas, who triumphed thanks to the *nomos of many heads*, possesses good fame (εὐδοξος). *Rigveda* 10.67 includes

the mythological account of Vala, i.e. the mythological transposition of the *dākṣiṇā* 'reward of the poet'. In turn, the *dākṣiṇā* is the means of attaining both material prosperity in life and glory among the gods.

The results of this analysis also modify our perspective on Pindar's originality. Two main factors are usually taken into account when we look into the poet's creativity: the *innovative*, personal aspects of his poetic technique/language and his dialogue with the Greek poetic tradition, i.e. with previous and contemporary works, written within the frameworks of different Greek poetic genres. The results presented here now invite us to enter a third factor into the equation. The coincidences between *Pythian Twelve* and the *Rigveda* support the hypothesis that Pindar had mastered a series of poetic devices (themes, phraseological structures, compositional structures), which he inherited from a previous Indo-European (namely: Graeco-Aryan) stage of the poetic language and that are not preserved in other Greek texts in our possession. They do not even survive in texts which are chronologically older than Pindar's odes (Homer, Hesiod). Although we do not know how and from whom Pindar came to learn and excel in his use of such poetic devices, it is clear that inherited poetic 'tools' survive in the Pindaric corpus, most probably thanks to the tendency towards preserving many inherited compositional devices. Although there is no relationship of dependence whatsoever between Pindar's epinicion and the Vedic hymn, the matches identified between the two poems may be explained as the reflections of analogous phraseological, thematic, and structural features. The quality and quantity of such cumulative evidence thus supports the hypothesis that shared similarities are heirs of a common ancestor shared by the Greek-Indo-Iranian poetic traditions.

Finally, my results have shown that framing phraseological, thematic and structural devices within inherited states of things sheds new light on what might, at a first glance, appear to us as random coincidences between two poetic cognate traditions. With this study, I hope to have contributed towards showing how fruitful the comparative approach can be when applied to classical texts.

Bibliography

Editions

- Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis*. 1: *Epinicia*. Leipzig 1987⁸. 2: *Fragmenta. Indices*. Leipzig 1989. Ed. Bruno Snell and Herwig Maehler.
- Scholia recentia in Pindari epinicia*. 1: *Scholia in Pindari Olympica et Pythia*. 11: *Scholia in Nemea et Isthmia*. Berlin 1891. Ed. Eugenius Abel.
- Scholia Thomano-Tricliniana in Pindari Pythia v–xii ex cod. Florentino edita*. Frankfurt am Main 1867. Ed. Tycho Mommsen.
- Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina*. 1: *Scholia in Olympionicas*. 11: *Scholia in Pythionicas*. 111: *Scholia in Nemeonicas et Isthmionicas*. *Epimetrum. Indices*. Stuttgartiae 1903–1927. Ed. Anders B. Drachmann.

Studies and Other Instruments of Consultation

- Accorinti, Domenico (transl. and comm.). 2004 [2018]. *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dioniache*. Volume Quarto (canti XL–XLVIII). Milano.
- Adams, Douglas Q. 2013. *A Tocharian B Dictionary*. Amsterdam.
- Adler, Ada (ed.). 1928–1935. *Suidae Lexicon*. 4 vols. Leipzig.
- Adorjáni, Zsolt. 2014. *Pindars sechste olympische Siegesode: Text, Einleitung und Kommentar*. Leiden/Boston.
- Ahlberg-Cornell, Gudrun. 1992. *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation*. Jonsered.
- Ahlwardt, Christian W. (ed.). 1820. *Pindari Carmina*. Leipzig.
- Ahrens, Heinrich L. 1843. *De dialecto dorica*. Göttingen.
- Akhunova, Olga L. 2020. Cheeks, Jaws, Effort and Auletics. Observations on Pindar's Pythian 12. *Mnemosyne* 74.1–22.
- Alexander, Katherina. 1988. *A Stylistic Commentary on Phanocles and Related Texts*. Amsterdam.
- Alexiou, Margaret. 1974. Yatromanolakis, Dimitris and Roilos Panagiōtis (rev.). 2002². *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. Lanham, MD.
- Allen, Thomas W. and David B. Monro (eds.). 1922. *Homeri Opera*. Vol. 5—*Hymnos Cyclum Fragmenta Margiten Batrachomyomachian Vitas continens*. Oxford.
- Amandry, Pierre and Théodore Spyropoulos. 1974. Monuments chorégyques d'Orchomène de Béotie. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 98.171–244.
- Anderson, Daniel. 2023. A Short History of the Term '*Sphragis*'. Handout presented at the conference "What's in a Poet? The Figure of the Poet in Archaic and Classical

- Greece. 7th Open International Conference of the Network of the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song". Universitat de Barcelona & Institut d'Estudis Catalans, July 4.
- Anastassiou, Anargyros and Dieter Irmer (eds.). 1997–2012. *Testimonien zum Corpus Hippocraticum*. Göttingen.
- Antonelli, Luca. 1994. Cadmo ed Eracle al cospetto di Apollo. *Hesperia* 4.13–48.
- Anttila, Raimo. 1997. Beating a Goddess out of the Bush? In: Irén Hegedüs, Peter A. Michalove, and Alexis Manaster Ramer (eds.): *Indo-European, Nostratic, and Beyond. Festschrift Vitaliy V. Shevoroshkin*, 1–8. Washington, DC.
- Anttila, Raimo. 1999. Aggression and Sustenance: Driving (*aǵ-) and Beating (*g^{wh}en-) Symbiosis in Indo-European. In: Vyacheslav V. Ivanov and Brent Vine (eds.): *UCLA Indo-European Studies*. Volume 1. Los Angeles.
- Anttila, Raimo. 2000. *Greek and Indo-European Etymology in Action. Proto-Indo-European *Aǵ-*. Amsterdam.
- Arbenz, Carl. 1933. *Die Adjektive auf -μῶς*. Zürich.
- ARV² = Beazley, John D. 1963². *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford.
- Athanassaki, Lucia. 2003. A Divine Audience for the Celebration of Asopichus' Victory in Pindar's Fourteenth Olympian Ode. In: Geoffrey W. Bakewell and James P. Sickinger (eds.): *Gestures: Essays in Ancient History, Literature, and Philosophy Presented to Alan L. Boegehold on the Occasion of His Retirement and His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, 3–15. Oxford.
- ATU = Aarne Antti, Thompson, Stith (transl. and enlarg.), and Hans-Jörg Uther (rev.). 2004. *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*. Helsinki.
- Austin, Colin and Guido Bastianini (eds.). 2002. *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*. Milano.
- Bader, Françoise. 1989. *La langue des dieux ou l'hermétisme des poètes indo-européens*. Pisa.
- Bader, Françoise. 2001–2002. Homérique Enūálios andreíphontēs: la rapidité destructrice du guerrier. *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* 6–7.25–34.
- Bannert, Herbert and Nicole Kröll. 2016. Nonnus and the Homeric Poems. In: Domenico Accorinti (ed.): *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, 479–506. Leiden/Boston.
- Barker, Andrew. 1984. *Greek Musical Writings* I. Cambridge.
- Barkhuizen, Jan H. 1976. Structural Text Analysis and the Problem of the Unity in the Odes of Pindar. *Acta Classica* 19.1–19.
- Barresi, Sebastiano and Salvatore Valastro. 2000. *Vasi attici figurati, vasi sicelioti*. Catania.
- Barrett, William S. 2007. Pindar and Psaumis: *Olympians* 4 and 5. In: *Greek Lyric. Tragedy and Textual Criticism. Collected Papers*, 38–53. Oxford.
- Bartholomae AirWb. = Bartholomae, Christian. 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Straßburg.

- Becker, Otfried. 1937. *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken*. Berlin.
- Beekes, Robert S.P. 2003. Indo-European or substrate? : φάτνη und κήρυξ. In: Alfred Bammersberger and Theo Vennemann-Nierfeld (eds.): *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, 109–115. Heidelberg.
- Beekes EDG = Beekes, Robert S.P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden/Boston.
- Belson, Janer D. 1981. *The Gorgoneion in Greek Architecture*. Ph.D. Thesis. Bryn Mawr College, PA.
- Bennett, Charls E. and Mary B. McElwain (ed. and transl.). 1925. *Frontinus. Stratagems. Aqueducts of Rome*. Cambridge, MA.
- Benveniste, É. 1967. Hommes et dieux dans l'Avesta. In: Gernot Wiessner (ed.): *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers. Ein Dokument der internationalen Forschung zum 27. September 1966*, 144–147. Wiesbaden.
- Berge, Lukas van den. 2007. Mythical Chronology in the “Odes” of Pindar. The Cases of Pythian 10 and Olympian 3. In: Rutger J. Allan and Michel Buijs (eds.): *The Language of Literature: Linguistic Approaches to Classical Texts*, 29–41. Leiden/Boston.
- Bernabé, Alberto (ed.). 1996–2007. *Poetarum Epicorum Fragmenta. Testimonia et Fragmenta*. 2 vols. Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- Bernman, Daniel W. 2010. The Landscape and Language of Korinna. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 50.41–62.
- [Angeli] Bernardini, Paola. 1971. Il banchetto di Polidette in Pindaro, *Pyth.* 12, 14 e il nuovo scolio papiraceo di Teone (*P. Oxy.* 2536). *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 11.99–101.
- [Angeli] Bernardini, Paola. 2006⁴. Pitica XII. Introduzione. Commento. In: Bruno Gentili (ed.): *Pindaro. Le Pitiche. Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione di Bruno Gentili, Paola Angeli Bernardini, Ettore Cingano e Pietro Giannini*, 307–312, 671–684. Milano.
- Besig, Hans. 1937. *Gorgo und Gorgoneion in der archaischen griechischen Kunst*. Ph.D. Thesis. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin.
- Bethe, Ericus (ed.). 1967. *Pollucis Onomasticon*. 3 vols. Stuttgart.
- Bianchetti, Serena 1987. *Falaride e pseudo-Falaride, storia e leggenda*. Roma.
- Bianconi, Michele. 2022. The etymology of Gerga and the Carian word for ‘white’. *Historische Sprachforschung* 133.27–42.
- Bieler, Ludwig. 1931. Die Sage von Perseus und das 10. Pythische Gedicht Pindars. *Wiener Studien* 49.119–128.
- Bischoff, Heinrich. 1938. *Gnomen Pindars*. Würzburg.
- Blanchard, Alain (ed. and transl.). 2016. Menander. *Le laboureur. La double tromperie. Le poignard. L'eunuque. L'inspirée. Thrasyléon. Le carthaginois. Le cithariste. Le flatteur. Les femmes qui boivent la ciguë. La leucadienne. Le haï. La périnthienne*. Paris.
- Blech, Michael. 1982. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*. Berlin/New York.
- Blümel, Wolfgang and Hans Lohmann. 2006. Mycale. In: *BNP* [01-10-2006].

- BNP = Cancik, Hubert, Landfester, Manfred, Schneider, Helmuth, Egger B., Wittke, Anne-Maria, Olshausen, Eckart, Szydlak, Richard, Salazar, F. Christine, Moog-Grünewald, Maria, and Christine Walde (eds.). 2007. *Brill's New Pauly: Chronologies of the Ancient World: Names, Dates and Dynasties*. Leiden. Online: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly> (last accessed March 05, 2023).
- Boardman, John. 1968. *Archaic Greek Gems: Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BC*. London.
- Boeckh, August. 1811–1821. *Pindari opera quae supersunt*. Leipzig.
- Boeke, Hanna. 2007. *The Value of Victory in Pindar's Odes: Gnomai, Cosmology and the Role of the Poet*. Leiden/Boston.
- Bonifazi, Anna. 2004. Relative Pronouns and Memory: Pindar beyond Syntax. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 102.41–68.
- Bowie, Ewen. 2014. Rediscovering Sacadas. In: Alfonso Moreno and Rosalind Thomas (eds.): *Patterns of the Past: Epitêdeumata in the Greek Tradition*, 39–56. Oxford.
- Bowra, Cecil M. 1930. An Alleged Anomaly in Pindar's Metric. *The Classical Quarterly* 24/3–4.174–182.
- Bowra, Cecil M. 1961². *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides*. Oxford.
- Bowra, Cecil M. 1964. *Pindar*. Oxford.
- Bozzone, Chiara. 2016. Weaving Songs for the Dead in Indo-European: Women Poets, Funerary Laments, and the Ecology of *kléugos. In: David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Brend Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 1–22. Bremen.
- Braswell, Bruce K. 1988. *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*. Berlin/New York.
- Bréal, Michel. 1882. *Hercule et Cacus. Étude de Mythologie Comparée*. Paris.
- Bremer, Jan M. 2008. Traces of the Hymn in the epinikion. *Mnemosyne* 61/1.1–17.
- Bremmer, Jan N. 2008. *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden.
- Brink, Charles O. 1971. *Horace on Poetry. The 'Ars Poetica'*. Cambridge.
- Brodersen, Kai. 1990. Zur Datierung der ersten Pythien. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 82.25–31.
- Brommer, Frank. 1973³. *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*. Marburg.
- Brunner, Christopher J. 1986 [2011]. Arang. In: *ET* [10–08–2011].
- Brust, Manfred. 2008². *Die indischen und iranischen Lehnwörter im Griechischen*. Innsbruck.
- Brusuelas, Joseph H., Meccariello, Chiara, and Sophie Bocksberger (eds.). 2016. *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*. 81. London.
- Bubel, Frank (ed.). 1991. Euripides. *Andromeda*. Stuttgart.
- Buck, Carl D. 1955. *Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*. Chicago.
- Budermann, Felix. 2017. Performance, Reperformance, Preperformance: The Paradox

- of Repeating the Unique in Pindaric Epinician and Beyond. In: Richard Hunter and Anna Uhlig (eds.): *Imagining Reperformance in Ancient Culture: Studies in the Traditions of Drama and Lyric*, 42–62. Cambridge.
- Bundy, Elroy L. 1986⁴. *Studia Pindarica. 1. The Eleventh Olympian Ode. 11. The First Isthmian Ode*. Berkeley/Los Angeles.
- Burkert, Walter. 1987. Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels. In: Jan Bremmer (ed.): *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, 10–40. London.
- Burkert, Walter. 1992. *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. (transl. by Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert). Cambridge, MA/London.
- Burrow, Thomas. 1973. The Proto-Indoaryans. *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 105/2. 123–140.
- Burton, Reginald W.B. 1962. *Pindar's Pythian Odes: Essays in Interpretation*. Oxford.
- Burzacchini, Gabriele. 2005. Fenomenologia innodica nella poesia di Saffo. *Eikasmos* 16.11–39.
- Bußmann, Hadumod. 2008. *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*. Stuttgart.
- Calame, Claude (ed.). 1983. *Alcman. Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire*. Roma.
- Calvani, Giovanna. 1973. Nota al *P. Oxy.* 2536 (*Hypomnema* a Pind. *Pyth.* XII, vv. 14–32), ll. 5–14. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 16.142–145.
- Cameron, Alister. 1939. Sappho's Prayer to Aphrodite. *Harvard Theological Review* 32/1.1–17.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1976. Gallo-latino GVTVATER. *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 18.199–204.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1977. *Ricerche di cultura poetica indoeuropea*. Pisa.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1986. I bovi del sole Iperione. *Incontri Linguistici* 11.25–30.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1990. *La ricostruzione della cultura indoeuropea*. Pisa.
- Candotti, Maria Piera, Neri, Chiara, and Tiziana Pontillo. 2020. Reconsideration of a plausible relationship between gift and merit in the earliest Vedic and Pāli sources (1): A comparison between the usages of Pā. *dakṣhiṇeyya* and Ved. *dakṣiṇīya*. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 93.137–163.
- Candotti, Maria Piera, Neri, Chiara, and Tiziana Pontillo. 2021. Vedic *dákṣiṇā*/Pāli *dakḥiṇā*. Recovering an original notion behind the later institutional gift. In: Elisabetta Pontigghe and Tiziana Pontillo (eds.): *Resisting and Justifying Changes: How to Make the New Acceptable in the Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern World*, 21–108. Pisa.
- Cannatà Fera, Maria (ed. and comm.). 2020. Pindaro. *Le Nemee*. Milano.
- Cantilena, Mario. 1990. Due studi sulla VII Olimpica di Pindaro: 11: I significati della pioggia d'oro. *Prometheus* 16.111–135.
- Carey, Christopher. 1981. *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar. Pythian 2, Pythian 9, Nemean 1, Nemean 7, Isthmian 8*. New York.

- Carey, Christopher. 1989. The Performance of the Victory Ode. *The American Journal of Philology* 110/4.551–556.
- Carey, Christopher. 2007. Pindar, Place, and Performance. In: Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan (eds.): *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, 199–210. Oxford.
- Carne-Ross, Donald S. 1968. Polygram/1: Pindar's Twelfth Pythian. *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 7/2.234–266.
- Carson, Anne. 1982. Wedding at Noon in Pindar's *Ninth Pythian*. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 23/2.121–128.
- Casevitz, Michel. 1972. Notes sur la langue de Pindare. In: Alfred Ernout (ed.): *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie grecques offerts à Pierre Chantraine*, 23–26. Paris.
- Cassio, Albio C. 1994. Κεῖνος, καλλιστέφανος e la circolazione dell'epica nell'area euboica. *AION (archeol.)* N.S. 1.55–67.
- Cassio, Albio C. 2005. I dialetti eolici e la lingua della lirica corale. In: Francesco Bertolini and Fabio Gasti (eds.): *Dialetti e lingue letterarie nella Grecia arcaica. Atti della IV Giornata ghisleriana di Filologia classica. Pavia, 1–2 aprile 2004*, 13–44. Pavia.
- Cassio, Albio C. 2016². *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*. Firenze.
- Cassola, Filippo. 1980. Note sulla Guerra crisea. In: José M. Fontana (ed.): *Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*. 2 vols. 2, 415–439. Roma.
- Castelluccia, Manuel. 2017. *Transcaucasian Bronze Belts*. Oxford.
- CEG = Hansen, Peter A. (ed.). 1983–1989. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*. Vol. 1: Saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n. Vol. 2: Saeculi IV a. Chr. n. Berlin/New York.
- Cerrato, Luigi (ed. and transl.). 1934. *Le odi di Pindaro*. Torino.
- CETOM = Malzahn, Melanie, Peyrot, Michaël, Fellner Hannes A., Illès, Theresa, Koller, Bernhard, and Ulrike Steidl (cur.): *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts*. Online: <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?About%20the%20project> (last accessed September 5, 2023).
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1948². *Grammaire Homérique*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Chantraine DELG = Chantraine, Pierre. 1968–1980. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque : Histoire des mots*. Paris. [2009. new ed. cur. by Alain Blanc, Charles de Lamberterie, Jean-Luis Perpillou, Jean Taillardat, and Olivier Masson].
- Chickering, Howell D. Jr. 2006². *Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition*. New York.
- Christ, Wilhelm von. 1867. Die älteste Textesüberlieferung bei Pindar. *Philologus* 25.607–636.
- Christ, Wilhelm von. 1891. Zum Dialekte Pindars. In: Wilhelm von Christ and Gustav Oehmichen (eds.): *Philologische Kleinigkeiten der XLI. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, 1–62. München.
- Christ, Wilhelm von. 1896. *Pindari carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa*. Leipzig.

- Christensen, Paul. 2007. *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*. New York/Cambridge.
- Chuvin, Pierre. 1995. Un éloge paradoxal de l'aulos dans la douzième Pythique. In: Laurent Dubois and Claude Meiller (eds.): *Poésie et lyrique antiques*, 119–127. Ville-neuve d'Ascq.
- Clay, Jenny S. 1992. Pindar's Twelfth Pythian: Reed and Bronze. *The American Journal of Philology* 113:519–525.
- Clayman, Dee L. 1993. Corinna and Pindar. In: Ralph M. Rosen, and Joseph Farrell (eds.): *Nomodeiktes. Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald*, 633–642. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Clapp, Edward B. 1901. Pindar's Accusative Constructions. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 32:16–42.
- Clement, Paul A., and HOFFLEIT, Herbert. B. (ed. and transl.). 1969. Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume VIII: Table-Talk, Books 1–6*. Cambridge, MA.
- Clunies Ross, Margaret (ed.). 2017. Eysteinn Valdason. *Poem about Þórr* 1. In: Kari Ellen Gade and Edith Marold (eds.): *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics*, 185. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 3. Turnhout.
- Coin-Longeray, Sandrine. 2014. *Poésie de la richesse et de la pauvreté : étude du vocabulaire de la richesse et de la pauvreté dans la poésie grecque antique, d'Homère à Aristophane*. Saint-Étienne.
- Cole Babbitt, Frank (ed. and transl.). 1936. Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume v: Isis and Osiris. The E at Delphi. The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse. The Obsolescence of Oracles*. Cambridge, MA.
- Collard, Christopher and Martin Cropp (ed. and transl.). 2008. Euripides. *Fragments: Aegeus-Meleager*. Cambridge, MA.
- Collinge, Neville E. 1970. *Collectanea Linguistica: Essays in General and Genetic Linguistics*. The Hague/Paris.
- Colvin, Stephen. 2007. *A Historical Greek Reader: Mycenaean to the Koiné*. Oxford.
- Conte, Gian Biagio. 2014. *Dell'imitazione: furto e originalità*. Pisa.
- Conte, Gian Biagio. 2017. *Stealing the Club from Hercules: on Imitation in Latin Poetry*. Berlin/Boston.
- Cooper, Mary E. 2006. *The Identity of the Greek Gorgon and Her Origins in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Ph.D. Thesis. Queen's University, Belfast.
- Coppola, Goffredo. 1931. *Introduzione a Pindaro. In appendice: L'Orestes di Corinna in un papiro inedito della società italiana*. Roma.
- Costa, Gabriele. 1987. Isoglosse vs. isoide nelle lingue indoeuropee orientali: omer. λαοσσός, ved. *nṛ̥n cyautná-*, e gath. *šiaoθna-*. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 72/1–2:49–54.
- Covini, Andrea L. 2017. Hethitische nasalhaltige Verbalstämme und ‚semantisch Transitivitytät‘: *šarni(n)k-mi* ‚ersetzen‘, *duḫarne-mi* ‚(zer)brechen‘. Handout presented at the

- "3. Indogermanistisches Forschungskolloquium, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Wien". April 20–21.
- Cristóbal López, Vincente. 1989. Perseo y Andrómeda: versiones antiguas y modernas. *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 23.51–96.
- Croon, John H. 1955. The Mask of the Underworld Daemon. Some Remarks on the Perseus-Gorgon Story. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 75.9–16.
- Crystal, David. 1993. *Die Cambridge Enzyklopädie der Sprache*. (transl. Stefan Röhrich, Ariane Böckler, and Manfred Jansen). Frankfurt/New York.
- Crystal, David. 2015⁶. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford.
- CTH = Laroche, Emmanuel (ed.). Košak, Silvin, and Gerfried G.W. Müller (rev. and continued). 2020. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Online: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/index_en.php (2022-10-26, last accessed September 01, 2023).
- Cummins, Monessa F. 2010. Sicilian Tyrants and Their Victorious Brothers 1: The Emmenids. *The Classical Journal* 105/4.321–339.
- Currie, Bruno G.F. 2004. Reperformance Scenarios for Pindar's Odes. In: Christopher J. Mackie (ed.): *Oral Performance and Its Context*, 49–69. Leiden/Boston.
- Currie, Bruno G.F. 2005. *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes*. Oxford.
- Currie, Bruno G.F. 2013. The Pindaric First Person in Flux. *Classical Antiquity* 32/2.243–282.
- Currie, Bruno G.F. 2017. Festival, Symposium, and Epinician (Re)performance. In: Richard Hunter and Anna Uhlig (eds.): *Imagining Reperformance in Ancient Culture: Studies in the Traditions of Drama and Lyric*, 187–208. Cambridge.
- Cursaru, Gabriela. 2013. Les πτερόεντα πέδιλα de Persée. *Gaia* 16.95–112.
- D'Acunto, Matteo. 2001. Il gorgoneion di pietra da Axòs e la modificazione del tipo a Creta tra modelli orientali e greci. *Annali di archeologia e storia antica* N.S. 8.47–63.
- D'Alessio, Giovan Battista. 1994. First-person problems in Pindar. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 39.117–139.
- D'Alessio, Giovan Battista. 1995. Review: *The Dithyrambs of Pindar. Introduction, Text and Commentary* by Maria Johanna H. Weiden. Amsterdam 1991. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81.270–273.
- D'Alessio, Giovan Battista. 2004. Past future and present past: temporal deixis in Greek Archaic Lyric. *Arethusa* 37/3.267–294.
- D'Onofrio, Anna Maria. 2017. Athenian burial practices and cultural change: the Rundbau early plot in the Kerameikos cemetery revisited. In: Xenia Charalambidou and Catherine Morgan (eds.): *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*, 260–280. Oxford.
- DA = Berti, Monica (ed.). *Digital Athenaeus*. Online: <http://www.digitalathenaeus.org> (last accessed March 7, 2023).
- Daltrop, Georg. 1980. *Il gruppo mironiano di Atena e Marsia nei Musei Vaticani*. Roma.
- Dandekar, Ramchandra N. 1979. *Vedic Mythological Tracts*. Delhi.

- Dardano, Paola. 2018. Fraseologia indoeuropea dell'Anatolia preclassica: note sulla locuzione "versare le parole". *AION (ling.)* N.S. 7.47–66.
- Darmesteter, James von. 1878. Une métaphore grammaticale de la langue Indo-européenne. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 3.319–321. [German transl. in Schmitt 1968:26–29].
- Darmesteter, James von. 1892–1893. *Le Zend-Avesta*. 3 vols. Paris.
- Davies, John K. 1994. The Tradition about the First Sacred War. In: Simon Hornblower (ed.): *Greek Historiography*, 193–212. Oxford.
- Davies, John K. 2007. The Origins of the Festivals, especially Delphi and the Pythia. In: Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan (eds.): *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, 47–70. Oxford.
- Davies, Malcom. 1988. Corinna's date revisited. *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3° ser. 6.186–194.
- Davies, Malcom (ed.). 1991. [PMGF]. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 1. Alcmán, Stesichorus, Ibycus*. Oxford.
- Davison, John A. 1935. Simonides fr. 13 Diehl. *The Classical Quarterly* 29/2.85–95.
- Delamarre, Xavier. 2008. Gauloises "Ardasina, Titiluxsa, Uxesina", grec *παρθένος*, aveistique **arəduuafšni*—Une dénomination indo-européenne de la jeune femme: 'celle qui a les seins hauts'. *Historische Sprachforschung* 121.65–68.
- Della Bona, Maria Elena. 2015. Riconsiderazioni sull'agone di Delfi: istituzione e premi. *Rudiae* N.S. 1.107–132.
- Della Bona, Maria Elena. 2017. *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica 2: 1 Pythia di Delfi*. Pisa/Roma.
- Denniston, John D. and Kenneth Dover (rev.). 1954². *The Greek Particles*. Oxford.
- Des Places, Édouard. 1947. *Le pronom chez Pindare. Recherches philologiques et critiques*. Paris.
- Devlin, Nicola G. 1995. *The Hymn in Greek Literature: Studies in Form and Content*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Oxford.
- DFHG = *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* = Digital version of FrHG: <http://www.dfhg-project.org> (last accessed March 8, 2023).
- Dickey, Eleanor. 1996. *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian*. Oxford.
- Diels, Hermann, and Walther Kranz (ed. and transl.). 1951–1952. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 3 vols. Zürich.
- Diès, Auguste, and des Places, Édouard (eds. and transl.). 1951–1956. *Platon. Œuvres Complètes*. Tome XII. *Les Lois*. Paris.
- Díez de Velasco, Francisco. 2007. El mito que mira a la muerte. *Gerión* vol. extra. 231–234.
- Diggle, James (ed.). 1970. *Euripides Phaethon*. Cambridge.
- Diggle, James (ed.). 1981. *Euripidis Fabulae. Vol. 2: Supplices; Electra; Hercules; Troades; Iphigenia in Tauris; Ion*. Oxford. [Online edition 2017].

- Diggle, James (ed.). 1984 [2017]. Euripidis *Fabulae*. Vol. 1: *Cyclops; Alcestis; Medea; Heracleidae; Hippolytus; Andromacha; Hecuba*. Oxford. [Online edition 2017].
- Diggle, James (ed.). 1994 [2017]. Euripidis *Fabulae*. Vol. 3: *Helena; Phoenissae; Orestes; Bacchae; Iphigenia Aulidensis; Rhesus*. Oxford. [Online edition 2017].
- Dindorf, Wilhelm (ed.). 1855. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- Dolcetti, Paola (ed.). 2004. *Ferecide di Atene. Testimonianze e Frammenti*. Alessandria.
- Dolin, Erwin F. 1965. *Interpretations of Pindar's Isthmian 6 and Pythian 12*. Ph.D. Thesis. Harvard University.
- Douglas, Mary. 2007. *Thinking in Circles. An Essay on Ring-Composition*. New Haven, CT/London.
- Dōyama, Eijirō. 2023. Who killed Viśvarūpa?—Trita Āptya as a protégé and a scapegoat of Indra. Handout from the “8th International Vedic Workshop, Paris-Aubervilliers”, September 18–22.
- Dugas, Charles. 1956. Observations sur la légende de Persée. *Revue des Études Grecques* 69.1–15.
- Duke, Elizabeth A., Hicken, Winifred F., Nicoll, William S.M., Robinson, David B., and Christopher J.G. Strachan (eds.). 1995. *Platonis Opera, Vol. 1: Tetralogiae 1–11*. Oxford.
- Dumézil, Georges. 1959. Notes sur le bestiaire de l'Edda et du Ṛgveda. In: Joseph Vendryès (ed.): *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie Ferdinand Mossé in memoriam*, 104–112. Paris.
- Dunkel, George E. 2021. The Oral Style of the Ṛgveda. *Oral Tradition* 35/1.3–36.
- Durante, Marcello. 1962. Ricerche sulla preistoria della poetica greca. L'epiteto. *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendiconti* 17.25–43.
- Durante, Marcello. 1976. *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca. Parte Seconda: Risultanze della comparazione indoeuropea*. Roma.
- Ebbinghaus, Susanne. 2005. Protector of the City, or the Art of Storage in Early Greece. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 125.51–72.
- ET = Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation (ed.). 1982–. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. London. Online: <https://iranicaonline.org/pages/about> (last accessed September 4, 2023).
- Eichholz, David E.H. (ed. and transl.). 1962. Plinius the Elder. *Natural History*. Vol. x. Cambridge, MA.
- Eichner, Heiner. 1979. Indogermanische Chronik 25b—II. Anatolisch. *Die Sprache* 25.196–207.
- Einarson, Benedict and Philip E. de Lacy (ed. and transl.). 1967. Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume XIV: That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible. Reply to Colotes in Defence of the Other Philosophers. Is “Live Unknown” a Wise Precept? On Music*. Cambridge, MA.
- Einarson, Benedict, and George K.K. Link (ed. and transl.). 1976–1990. Theophrastus. *De Causis Plantarum, Volume I–II*. Cambridge, MA.

- EM = Ernout, Alfred, Meillet, Antoine (eds.), and André, Jacques (rev.). 1960⁴ [repr. 2001]. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*. Paris.
- Erbse, Hartmut (ed.). 1950. *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*. Berlin.
- Erbse, Hartmut (ed.). 1999. Über Pindars Umgang mit dem Mythos. *Hermes* 127/1.13–32.
- ETCSL = *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. Online: <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/index1.htm> (last accessed March 8, 2023).
- EWaia = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1992–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg.
- Fanfani, Giovanni. 2018. Craftsmanship and technology as chorality: the case of weaving imagery in archaic and classical choral lyric. *Dionysus ex machina* 9.6–40.
- Faraone, Christopher. 2002. A Drink from the Daughters of Mnemosyne: Poetry, Eschatology and Memory at the End of Pindar's Isthmian 6. In: John F. Miller, Cynthia K. Damon, and Sara Myers (eds.): *Vertis in usum. Studies in Honor of Edward Courtney*, 259–270. München/Leipzig.
- Farnell, Richard L. 1932. *The Works of Pindar*. London.
- Faulkes, Anthony (ed.). 1982². *Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning*. London.
- Fehling, Detlev. 1969. *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias*. Berlin.
- Feld, Steven. 2012. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Durham, NC.
- Fenik, Bernard. 1968. *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Technique of Homeric Battle Description*. Wiesbaden.
- Fernández-Galiano, Manuel. 1942. Psaumis en les Olímpicas de Píndaro. *Emérita* 10.112–148.
- Finglass, Patrick J. (ed. and comm.). 2007. *Pythian Eleven*. Cambridge.
- Finglass, Patrick J. (ed. and comm.). 2014. *Stesichorus: The Poems*. Cambridge.
- Finglass, Patrick J. (forthcoming). *Euripides and the Myth of Perseus. Two Lost Greek Tragedies Illuminated by a New Papyrus*.
- Firth, John R. 1951. Modes of Meaning. In: John R. Firth (ed.): *Papers in Linguistics 1934–1951*, 190–215. London.
- Fittschen, Klaus. 1969. *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*. Berlin.
- Floren, Josef. 1977. *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion*. Münster.
- Foley, John M. 1983. Literary Art and Oral Tradition in Old English and Serbian Poetry. *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.183–214.
- Foley, John M. 2002. *How to Read an Oral Poem*. Urbana, IL/Chicago.
- Fontenrose, Joseph E. 1959. *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*. Berkeley.
- Forssman, Bernhard. 1966. *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars*. Wiesbaden.
- Forte, Alexander. 2016. A New Type of Ring Composition? Towards a Technique of

- Inherited Poetics. Handout presented at the “147th Meeting of the Society for Classical Studies”, San Francisco, January 8 (last accessed February 26, 2023).
- Forte, Alexander. 2017. On the prehistory of Gk νέομαι and νοῦς. Revised handout presented at “Cornell’s Greek Linguistics Workshop”, October 21.
- Forte, Alexander and Caley C. Smith 2014. Wheel Composition in Greek and Indic Poetry. In: Stephanie W. Jamison, Craig H. Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 25th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 57–74. Bremen.
- Fox, James J. 1977. Roman Jakobson and the Comparative Study of Parallelism. In: Daniel Armstrong and Cornelis H. van Schooneveld (eds.): *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of His Scholarship*, 59–90. Berlin/Boston.
- Fraenkel, Eduard (ed. and comm.). 1952. *Aeschylus. Agamemnon*. 3 vols. Oxford.
- Frame, Douglas. 2009. *Hippota Nestor*. Washington, DC/Cambridge, MA.
- François, Gilbert. 1957. *Le Polythéisme et l’emploi au singulier des mots θεός, δαίμων dans la littérature grecque d’Homère à Platon*. Paris.
- Fränkel, Hermann. 1924. Eine Stileigenheit der frugriechischen Literatur. *Nachrichten von der Koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen phil.-hist. Kl.* 40–96.
- Franklin, John C. 2013. The Songbenders of Circular Choruses: Dithyramb and the ‘Demise of Music’. In: Barbara Kowalzig and Peter Wilson (eds.): *Dithyramb in Context*, 213–236. Oxford.
- Frazer, James G. (ed. and transl.). 1921. Apollodorus. *The Library. Volume 1–11*. Cambridge, MA.
- Frazer, James G. (ed. and transl.) and George P. Goold (rev.). 1931. Ovid. *Fasti*. Cambridge, MA.
- FrGH = Jacoby, Felix (ed.). 1926–1957. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.
- Frisk GEW = Frisk, Hjalmar. 1960–1972. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Heidelberg.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, Françoise. 1994. Athéna et l’invention de la flûte. *Musica e Storia* 2.239–267.
- Gade, Kari E. (ed.). 2009. Steinn Herdisarson, Óláfsdrápa 10. In: Kari E. Gade (ed.): *Poetry from the Kings’ Sagas 2: From c. 1035 to c. 1300*, 376. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 2. Turnhout.
- Gade, Kari E. 2017. Snorri Sturluson, *Háttatal*. In: Kari E. Gade and Edith Marold (eds.): *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics. Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 3, 1094. Turnhout.
- Gaisser, Julia H. 1969. A Structural Analysis of the Digressions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73.1–43.
- Gaisford, Thomas (ed.). 1848. *Etymologicum magnum*. Oxford.
- Gantz, Timothy. 1996. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore, MD/London.

- García, Juan F. 1998. *The Poetic Language of Early Greek Choral Lyric: Origin and Development*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Princeton.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 1992. Mycénien *ke-sa-do-ro* /Kessandros/, *ke-ti-ro* /Kestilos/, *ke-to* /Kestōr/: grec alphabétique Αἰνησιμβρότα, Αἰνησίλαος, Αἰνήτωρ et le nom de Cassandra. In: Jean-Pierre Olivier (ed.): *Mykenaiika: Actes du IXe Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens organisé par le Centre de l'antiquité grecque et romaine de la Fondation hellénique des recherches scientifiques et l'École française d'Athènes* (Athènes, 2–6 octobre 1990), 239–255. Athènes/Paris.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 1993. Latín *ciēre*, *citus*, IE **keǵ-*/**ki-* ‘ponerse en movimiento’ y Causat. **koǵ-éǵe-ti*. In Frank Heidermanns, Helmut Rix, and Elmar Seebold (eds.): *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums. Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, 125–140. Innsbruck.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 1994. Indogermanische Wurzelpresentia und innere Rekonstruktion. In: George Dunkel, Gisela Meyer, Salvatore Scarlata, and Christian Seidl (eds.): *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch: Akten der IX. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 5. bis 9. Oktober 1992 in Zürich*, 53–76. Wiesbaden.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 1998. Indogermanisch **g^uhen-* “(wiederholt) schlagen, töten”. In: Jay H. Jasanoff, Craig H. Melchert, and Lisi Oliver (eds.): *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, 139–154. Innsbruck.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2000. Fraseología heredada e innovación en lengua de la lírica coral: ὀρσινεφής (Píndaro), ὀρσίαλος (Baquilides) y los compuestos con ὀρσι^o. In: Minerva Alganza Roldan, José María Camacho Rojo, Pedro Pablo Fuentes González, and Miguel Villena Ponsoda (eds.): *EΠΕΙΚΕΙΑ. Studia Graeca in Memoriam Jesus Lens Tuero*, 139–151. Granada.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2008. Vergil und die indogermanische Dichtersprache. In: Stefan Freund and Meinolf Vielberg (eds.): *Vergil und das antike Epos: Festschrift Hans Jürgen Tschiedel*, 267–277. Stuttgart.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2011a. El antropónimo pilio *e-ri-ko-wo* y la fraseología poética: /*Erikōwos*/ (: μέγα κῶας Hom.+) o más bien /*Erigowos*/ (: μέγαν γόν HHCer., ἐρικλάγκταν γόν Pind. y μέγα βοήσας Hom. Ἐριβόας Pind.). *Faventia* 30.1/2.33–45. Barcelona.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2011b. Galo *gutwater*. In: Eugenio R. Luján and Juan L. García Alonso (eds.): *A Greek Man in the Iberian Street. Papers in Linguistics and Epigraphy in Honour of Javier de Hoz*, 191–200. Innsbruck.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2017. Verbal System. In: Jared Klein, Brian Joseph, and Matthias Fritz (eds.): *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*. 3 vols. Vol. 1, 670–682. Berlin/Boston.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2021a. *Infinitiv*. Heidelberg.
- García Ramón, José Luis. 2021b. From city-goddess to war-goddess: on some epithets of Athena. In: Ioanna Papadopoulou (ed.): *Interdisciplinary Uses of Homer: In Dialogue*

- with Douglas Frame. Online: <https://chs.harvard.edu/book/interdisciplinary-uses-of-homer-in-dialogue-with-douglas-frame/> (January 18, 2024).
- García Ramón, José Luis. forthcoming. The Supposed Thematic Genitive in -(C)o in Mycenaean: A Mirage. In: John Bennet, Artemis Karnava, and Torsten Meißner (eds.): *KO-RO-NO-WE-SA. Proceedings of the 15th Mycenological Colloquium, September 2021. Ariadne Supplement Series, School of Philosophy, University of Crete*.
- Gardner, Robert (transl.). 1958. Cicero. *Pro Caelio. De Provinciis Consularibus. Pro Balbo*. Cambridge, MA.
- Garelli, Marie-Hélène. 2009. Jupiter, l'eunuque et la pluie d'or: (Térence, Eunuque, 550–614). In: Corinne Bonnet, Christine Noacco, and Jean-Pierre Aygon (eds.): *La mythologie de l'Antiquité à la Modernité : appropriation–adaptation–détournement*, 73–83. Rennes.
- Garrod, William H. (ed.). 1901. *Quinti Horati Flacci Opera*. Oxford.
- Geldner, Karl F. (eds. and transl.). 1896. *Avesta: The Sacred Book of the Parsis*. 3 vols. Stuttgart.
- Geldner, Karl F. 1951–1957. *Der Rig-Veda*. 4 vols. Cambridge, MA/London/Wiesbaden.
- Gelzer, Thomas. 1985. Μοῦσα ἀδύτηνής: Bemerkungen zu einem Typ Pindarischer und Bacchylideischer Epinikien. *Museum Helveticum* 42.95–120.
- Gentili, Bruno. 1971. I fr. 39 e 40 P. di Alcmane e la poetica della mimesi nella cultura greca arcaica. In: Quintino Cataudella (ed.): *Studi filologici e storici in onore di Vittorio De Falco*, 57–67. Napoli.
- Gentili, Bruno. 1981. Verità e accordo contrattuale (σύνθεσις) in Pindaro, fr. 205 Sn.–Maehl. *Illinois Classical Studies* 6/2.215–220.
- Gentili, Bruno. 1984. *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica*. Roma/Bari.
- Gentili, Bruno. 2006⁴. Pindaro. *Le Pitiche, introduzione, testo critico e traduzione di Bruno Gentili. Commento a cura di Paola Angeli Bernardini, Ettore Cingano e Pietro Giannini*. Milano.
- Gentili, Bruno and Francesco Luisi 1995. La Pitica 12 di Pindaro e l'aulo di Mida. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* N.S. 49.7–31.
- Gentili, Bruno and Carlo Prato. 1985 [2012–2013]. *Poetae elegiaci: Testimonia et fragmenta*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- George, Andrew T. (transl.). 1999. *The Epic of Gilgamesh. The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian*. Harmondsworth.
- Gerber, Douglas E. 1976. *Emendations in Pindar 1513–1972*. Amsterdam.
- Gerber, Douglas E. 1985. Emendations in the Odes of Pindar : an historical analysis. In: Bernard Grange, André Hurst, and Olivier Reverdin (eds.): *Pindare Texte imprimé huit exposés suivis de discussions, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 21–26 août 1984*, 1–25. Genève.
- Gerber, Douglas E. 1986. The Gorgons' Lament in Pindar's *Pythian* 12. *Museum Helveticum* 43/4.247–249.

- Gerber, Douglas E. 1987. Pindar's "Olympian" Four: A Commentary. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* N.S. 25/1.7–24.
- Gershevitch, Ilya (transl. and comm.). 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*. Cambridge.
- Giangrande, Giuseppe. 1987. A passage of Phanocles. *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 8.85–86.
- Giannini, Pietro. 2008. "Enjambement", colometria e "performance" negli epinici di Pindaro. In: Giorgio Cerboni Baiardi, Liana Lomiento, and Franca Perusino (eds.): *Enjambement: teoria e tecniche dagli antichi al Novecento*, 65–80. Pisa.
- Giannini, Pietro. 2009. La *poikilia* in età arcaica e in Pindaro. In: Elisabetta Berardi, Francisco L. Lisi, and Dina Micalella (eds.): *Poikilia. Variazioni sul tema*, 65–82. Roma.
- Giannini, Pietro. 2013. Olimpica VIII. Introduzione. Commento. In: Bruno Gentili, Carmine Catenacci, Pietro Giannini, and Liana Lomiento (eds.): Pindaro. *Le Olimpiche*, 197–203, 503–522. Milano.
- Gianotti, Gian Franco. 2003. Andromeda e Psiche: storie nuziali e assunzioni in cielo. In: Marcella Guglielmo and Edoardo Bona (eds.): *Forme di comunicazione nel mondo antico e metamorfosi del mito: dal teatro al romanzo*, 243–257. Alessandria.
- Gigli Piccardi, Daria. 2018. Nonnus and Pindar. In: Herbert Bannert and Nicole Kröll (eds.): *Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II: Poetry, Religion, and Society. Proceedings of the International Conference on Nonnus of Panopolis, 26th–29th September 2013, University of Vienna, Austria*, 255–270. Leiden/Boston.
- Gildersleeve, Basil L. 1885. *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes*. London.
- Ginevra, Riccardo. 2022. On Chariots and at Sea: Indo-European Gods of Mobility—Old Norse *Njǫrðr*, Vedic Sanskrit *Násatya-*, and Proto-Indo-European **nes-ét-/et-* 'returning (safely home), arriving (at the desired goal)'. In: David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 32nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 105–124. Hamburg.
- Ginevra, Riccardo. forthcoming/a. On Ancient Greek *φράσσω* : Proto-Germanic **burgja-* (PIE **bʰrǵʰ-ǵó/é-* 'enclose'), AGk *φóρξ** : PGmc **burg-* (PIE **bʰrǵʰ-s* 'enclosing'), and the Greek sea-god *Φόρκυς/Φόρκος*. *Glotta* 100.
- Ginevra, Riccardo. forthcoming/b. Etymology and Comparative Mythology: Python, Oceanus, the Hydra, Scylla, Typhon, and Indo-European Water Monsters. *ΑΙΩΝ (filol.)*.
- Giuliano, Antonio. 1959–1960. L'origine di un tipo di Gorgone. *Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 37–38 N.S. 20–21.231–237.
- Godley, Alfred D. (ed. and transl.). 1920–1925. Herodotus. *The Persian Wars, Volume I–IV*. Cambridge, MA.
- Goins, Scott E. 1997. The Date of Aeschylus' Perseus Tetralogy. *Reinisches Museum für Philologie* N.F. 140/3–4.193–210.
- Gonda, Jan. 1959. *Epithets in the R̥gveda*. 's-Gravenhage.

- Gonzales, Matthew P. 2004. *Cults and sanctuaries of Ares and Enyalios: a survey of the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of California, Berkeley.
- Goold, George P. 1959. Perseus and Andromeda. A Myth from the Skies. *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* 2.10–15.
- Gow, Andrew S.F. and Denys L. Page (eds.). 1965. *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Gradon, Pamela O.E. (ed.). 1977². *Cynewulf's 'Elene'*. Exter.
- Graff, Sarah B. 2012. *Humbaba/Huwawa*. Ph.D. Thesis. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.
- Graff, Sarah B. 2013. The Head of Humbaba. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14/1.130–142.
- Grassmann, Hermann and Maria Kozianka. 1996⁶. *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. Wiesbaden.
- Gray, Elizabeth A. 1982. *Cath Maige Tuired: The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*. Naas.
- Greengard, Carola. 1980. *The Structure of Pindar's Epinician Odes*. Amsterdam.
- Greenwood, Leonard H.G. (ed. and transl.). 1928–1935. Cicero. *The Verrine Orations, Volume I–II*. Cambridge, MA.
- Greppin, John A.C. 1976. Oulos, 'Baneful'. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 106.177–186.
- Grimme, Hubert. 1925. Hethitisches im griechischen Wortschatze. *Glotta* 14/1–2.13–25.
- Grinbaum, Natan S. 1972. Язык Пиндара и надписи Аргολиды. *Античность и современность*, 57–66. Moskva.
- Grinbaum, Natan S. 1973. *Язык древнегреческой хоровой лирики (Пиндар)*. Kishinev.
- Grinbaum, Natan S. 2007. *Пиндар: проблема языка*. Sankt-Peterburg.
- Grinbaum, Natan S. 2008. Из истории классической филологий в России (советский период 1967–1977 гг.). *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология* 13.96–121.
- Gschnitzer, Fritz. 1977. *λήϊτος* und Verwandtes. *Glotta* 55.190–207.
- Gufler, Birgit. 2002. Orientalische Wurzeln griechischer Gorgo-Darstellungen. In: Monika Schuol, Udo Hartmann, and Andreas Luther (eds.): *Grenzüberschreitungen: Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*, 61–81. Stuttgart.
- Güntert, Hermann. 1914. *Über die ahurischen und daëvischen Ausdrücke im Avesta: Eine semasiologische Studie*. Heidelberg.
- Hagel, Stefan. 2009. *Ancient Greek Music. A New Technical History*. Cambridge.
- Hagel, Stefan. 2010–2011. The *aulos sýrinx*. In: Daniela Castaldo, Francesco G. Giannachi, and Alessandra Manieri (eds.): *Poesia, musica e agoni nella Grecia antica*, tomo 11, 419–518 [= *Rudiae* 22–23/2].
- Hagel, Stefan. 2020. Understanding Early Auloi: Instruments from Paestum, Pydna and Elsewhere. In: Gabriel Zuchtriegel and Angelo Meriani (eds): *La tomba del Tuffatore: rito, arte e poesia a Paestum e nel Mediterraneo d'epoca tardo-arcaica*, 421–459. Pisa.

- Hannah, Robert, Magli, Giulio, and Andrea Orlando. 2017. New Insights on the Akragas' Complex of Demeter and Persephone: The Role of the Moon. In: Andrea Orlando (ed.): *The Light, The Stones and The Sacred. The Light. Proceedings of the xv Italian Society of Archaeoastronomy Congress*, 95–106. Cham.
- Hansen, Peter A. and Ian C. Cunningham (eds.). 2009. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, T-Ω*. Berlin/New York.
- Hansen, William F. 2002. *Ariadne's Thread: A Guide to International Tales Found in Classical Literature*. Ithaca, NY/London.
- Harmon, Austin M. (ed. and transl.). 1913. Lucian. *Phalaris. Hippas or The Bath. Dionysus. Heracles. Amber or The Swans. The Fly. Nigrinus. Demonax. The Hall. My Native Land. Octogenarians. A True Story. Slander. The Consonants at Law. The Carousal (Symposium) or The Lapiths*. Cambridge, MA.
- Hartland, Edwin S. 1894–1896. *The Legend of Perseus. A Study of Tradition in Story, Custom and Belief*. 3 vols. London.
- Hartung, Johann A. (ed.). 1855–1856. Pindarus. *Werke*. Leipzig.
- Haslam, Michael W. 1974. Stesichorean Metre. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 17.7–57.
- Heath, Malcom. 1988. Receiving the $\chi\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$: The Context and Performance of Epinician. *The American Journal of Philology* 109.180–195.
- Helck, Wolfgang. 1979. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasies zu Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Darmstadt.
- Held, George F. 1998. Weaving and Triumphal Shouting in Pindar, Pythian 12.6–12. *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. 48/2.380–388.
- Helmbold, William C. (ed. and transl.). 1939. Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume VI: Can Virtue Be Taught? On Moral Virtue. On the Control of Anger. On Tranquility of Mind. On Brotherly Love. On Affection for Offspring. Whether Vice Be Sufficient to Cause Unhappiness. Whether the Affections of the Soul are Worse Than Those of the Body. Concerning Talkativeness. On Being a Busybody*. Cambridge, MA.
- Henderson, Jeffrey (ed. and transl.). 1998a. Aristophanes. *Acharnians. Knights*. Cambridge, MA.
- Henderson, Jeffrey (ed. and transl.). 1998b. Aristophanes. *Clouds. Wasps. Peace*. Cambridge, MA.
- Henderson, Jeffrey (ed. and transl.). 2000. Aristophanes. *Birds. Lysistrata. Women at the Thesmophoria*. Cambridge, MA.
- Henry, Ben W. (ed. and comm.). 2005. *Pindar's Nemean. A Selection*. Berlin.
- Henry, Ben W. (ed. and comm.) 2007. Pindaric Accompaniments. In: Patrick J. Finneglass, Christopher Collard, and Nicholas J. Richardson (eds.): *Hesperos. Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry. Presented to M.L. West on his Seventieth Birthday*, 126–131. Oxford.
- Herda, Alexander. 2006. Panionion-Melia, Mykalessos-Mykale, Perseus und Medusa:

- Überlegungen zur Besiedlungsgeschichte der Mykale in der frühen Eisenzeit. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 56.43–102.
- Hetzner, Udo. 1963. *Andromeda und Tarpeia*. Meisenheim.
- Heubeck, Alfred. 1954. Ἀργεῖφόντης und Verwandtes. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 5/1.19–31.
- Heyne, Christian G. (ed.). 1773¹. 1797–1799². 1817³. 1824⁴. *Pindari Carmina. Cum Lectionis Varietate et Adnotationibus. Accedunt Interpretatio Latina Emendator, Scholia, et Fragmenta; nec non Godofredi Hermanni Dissertationes Pindaricae, et Indices Tres*. Londinii.
- Hinge, George. 2006. *Die Sprache Alkmans. Textgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte*. Wiesbaden.
- Hinz, Valentina. 1998. *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore Auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia*. Wiesbaden.
- Hirschberger, Martina. 2000. Das Bild der Gorgo Medusa in der griechischen Literatur und Ikonographie. *Lexis* 18.55–76.
- Hirschberger, Martina. 2004. *Gynaikōn Katalogos und Megalai Ēhoiai. Ein Kommentar zu den Fragmenten zweier hesiodeischer Epen*. München/Leipzig.
- Hoffmann, Karl. 1967. *Der Injunktiv im Veda*. Heidelberg.
- Holloway, Ross R. 2000. *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*. London.
- Hook van, La Rue (ed. and transl.). 1945. Isocrates. *Evagoras. Helen. Busiris. Plataicus. Concerning the Team of Horses. Trapeziticus. Against Callimachus. Aegineticus. Against Lochites. Against Euthynus. Letters*. Cambridge, MA.
- Hopkins, Clarck. 1934. Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story. *The American Journal of Archaeology* 38.341–358.
- Hopkinson, Neil (ed. and transl.). 2015. *Theocritus. Moschus. Bion*. Cambridge, MA.
- Hopkinson, Neil (ed. and transl.). 2018. *Quintus Smyrnaeus. Posthomerica*. Cambridge, MA.
- Hornblower, Simon. 2022. *Lycophron. Alexandra*. Oxford.
- Houben, Jan E.M. 2019. Ecology of Ritual Innovation in Ancient India: Textual and Contextual Evidence. In: Lauren M. Bausch (ed.): *Self, Sacrifice, and Cosmos: Vedic Thought, Ritual, and Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Professor Ganesh Umakant Thite's Contribution to Vedic Studies*, 182–210. Delhi.
- Howard, Albert A. 1893. The αὐλός or tibia. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 4.1–63.
- Howe, Thalia P. 1954. The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head. *The American Journal of Archaeology* 58.209–221.
- Hubbard, Thomas K. 1985. *The Pindaric Mind. A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry*. Leiden.
- Huchzermeyer, Helmut. 1931. *Aulos und Kithara in der griechischen Musik bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Emsdetten.
- Huffman, Carl A. (ed. and transl.). 2019. *Aristoxenus of Tarentum: The Pythagorean Precepts (How to Live a Pythagorean Life)*. Cambridge.

- Huld, Martin E. 1984. *Basic Albanian Etymologies*. Columbus, OH.
- Humbach, Helmut. 1967. Indogermanische Dichtersprache? *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 21.21–31.
- Humbach, Helmut, Elfenbein, Josef H., and Prods Oktor Skjærvø (ed., transl., and comm.). 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts: Introduction, Text and Translation*. Heidelberg.
- Humbach, Helmut and Klaus Faiss. 2010. *Zarathushtra and His Antagonists. A Sociolinguistic Study with English and German Translations of his Gāthās*. Wiesbaden.
- Hummel, Pascale. 1992. Poluphatos/poluphantos : morphologie étymologique et morphologie formulaire. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 66/2.289–299.
- Hummel, Pascale. 1993. *La syntaxe de Pindare*. Louvain/Paris.
- Hurwit, Jeffrey M. 1982. Palm Trees and the Pathetic Fallacy in Archaic Greek Poetry and Art. *The Classical Journal* 77.193–199.
- Hurwit, Jeffrey M. 2006. Lizards, Lions, and the Uncanny in Early Greek Art. *Hesperia* 75.121–136.
- Hutter, Manfred. 1995. Der luwische Wettergott *piḥaššašši* und der griechische Pegasos. In: Michaela Ofitsch (ed.): *Studia Onomastica et indogermanica. Festschrift für Fritz Lochner von Hüttenbach zum 65. Geburtstag*, 79–97. Graz.
- IEG = West, Martin L. (ed.). 1998². *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*. Oxford.
- IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern/München.
- Imhoof-Blumer, Friedrich and Percy Gardner. 1887. *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*. London.
- Irigoin, Jean. 1952. *Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris.
- Ivanov, Vjaceslav V. (ed.). 1987. *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. Moskva.
- Ivanov, Vjaceslav V. and Lidija G. Nevskaja (eds.). 1990. *Issledovanija v oblasti balto-slavjanskoj duxovnoj kul'tury: Pogrebal'nyj obrjad*. Moskva.
- Ivanov, Vjaceslav V. and Vladimir N. Toporov. 1974. *Issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskix drevnostej*. Moskva.
- Jackson [Rova], Peter. 2002. *Verbis pingendis: Contribution to the Study of Ritual Speech and Mythopoeia*. Innsbruck.
- Jackson [Rova], Peter. 2006. The Poetics of Myth in Pindar's Olympian 9.47–49. In: Geroges-Jean Pinault and Daniel Petit (eds.): *La langue poétique indo-européenne : Actes du Colloque de travail de la Société des études Indo-Européennes, Paris, 22–24 octobre 2003*, 125–132. Leuven/Paris.
- Jackson [Rova], Peter. 2014. A Song Worth Fifty Cows: Graeco-Indo-Iranian Variations on the Etymology of Sacrifice. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 68/1.101–117.

- Jamison, Stephanie W. 1991. *The Ravenous Hyenas and the Wounded Sun: Myth and Ritual in Ancient India*. Ithaca, NY.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 1993. Natural History Notes on the Rigvedic 'Frog' Hymn. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* [Amṛtamahotsava Volume], 72–73/1–4. 137–144.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 2004. Poetry and Purpose of the Rigveda: Structuring Enigmas. In: Arlo Griffiths and Jan E.M. Houben (eds.): *The Vedas: Texts, Language and Ritual: Proceedings of the Third International Vedic Workshop, Leiden 2002*, 237–249. Groningen.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 2006. Poetic 'Repair' in the Rig Veda. In: Georges-Jean Pinault and Daniel Petit (eds.): *La Langue poétique indo-européenne : Actes du Colloque de travail de la Société des études Indo-Européennes, Paris, 22–24 octobre 2003*, 133–140. Leuven/Paris.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. and Joel P. Brereton (transl.). 2014. *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. Oxford.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 2020. *Rigveda Translation Commentary*. Online: http://rigveda.commentary.alc.ucla.edu/?page_id=49. (last accessed July 07, 2022).
- Janda, Michael. 2000. *Eleusis. Das indogermanische Erbe der Mysterien*. Innsbruck.
- Janda, Michael. 2005. *Elysion: Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Religion*. Innsbruck.
- Janda, Michael. 2010. *Die Musik nach dem Chaos: Der Schöpfungsmythos der europäischen Vorzeit*. Innsbruck.
- Janko, Richard. 1978. A Note on the Etymologies of διάκτορος and χρυσάορος. *Glotta* 56/3–4. 192–195.
- Jenkins, Gilbert K. 1990. *Ancient Greek Coins*. London.
- Jllig, Leonhard. 1932. *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung. Interpretationen und Untersuchungen*. Berlin.
- Jones, Christopher P. (ed. and transl.). 2017. Apuleius. *Apologia. Florida. De Deo Socratis*. Cambridge, MA.
- Jones, Horace L. (ed. and transl.). 1917–1927. Strabo. *Geography, Volume I–VIII*. Cambridge, MA.
- Kaibel, Georg (ed.). 1899. *Fragmenta Epicharmi*. In: *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Vol. 1.1. 91–126, 128–132.
- Kaimio, Maarit. 1977. *Characterization of Sound in Early Greek Literature*. Helsinki.
- Kannicht, Richard. 1993. Review: *Euripides, Andromeda* by Frank Buben. *Gnomon* 65. 634–636.
- Karaghiorga, Theodora. "Τοργεΐη κεφαλή". *Καταγωγή και νόημα της γοργονικής μορφής εν τη λατρεία και τη τέχνη των αρχαϊκών χρόνων*. Athina.
- Karamanou, Ioanna (ed.). 2006. *Euripides. Danae and Dictys*. München/Leipzig.
- Karanika, Andromache. 2014. *Voices at Work: Women, Performance, and Labor in Ancient Greece*. Baltimore, MD.

- Katz, Joshua T. 1998. How to Be a Dragon in Indo-European: Hittite Illuyankas and its Linguistic and Cultural Congeners in Latin, Greek, and Germanic. In: Jay H. Jasanoff, Craig H. Melchert, and Lisi Oliver (eds.): *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, 317–334. Innsbruck.
- Keith, Arthur B. 1914. *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittiriya Sanhitā*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA.
- Kellens, Jean. 1979. Le bras de Mišra. In: Ugo Bianchi (ed.): *Mysteriae Mithrae. Atti del Seminario Internazionale su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con Particolare Riferimento alle Fonti Documentarie di Roma e Ostia" (Roma, Ostia 28–31 marzo 1978)*, 703–716. Leiden.
- Kenens, Ulrike. 2012. Greek Mythography at Work: The Story of Perseus from Pherecydes to Tzetzes. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52.147–166.
- Kirkwood, Gordon. 1982. *Selections from Pindar*. Chico, CA.
- Klaeber, Friedrich, Fulk, Robert D., Bjork, Robert E., and John Niles (eds.). 2008⁴. *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Toronto/Buffalo, NY/London.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert. 1970. Griechisch ἰάσκειται. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 28.75–88.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert. 1974. Grieschisch παρθένος. In: Manfred Mayrhofer and Wolfgang Meid (eds.): *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur Indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert zur 25. Wiederkehr seines Todestages am 23. April 1973*, 273–278. Innsbruck.
- Köhnken, Adolf. 1971. *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar*. Berlin.
- Köhnken, Adolf. 1976. Perseus' Kampf und Athenes Erfindung (Bemerkungen zu Pindar, *Pythien* 12). *Hermes* 104.257–265.
- Köhnken, Adolf. 1978. Two Notes on Pindar. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 25.92–96.
- Köhnken, Adolf. 1995. Wortlaut, Wortstellung und Textzusammenhang: Pindar, O. 1 und P. 12*. In: Joanna Rybowska and Krzysztof T. Witczak (eds.): *Collectanea philologica 11: in honorem Annae Mariae Komornicka*, 149–158. Łódź.
- Kölligan, Daniel. 2005. Latin *lūgēre* 'trauern'. *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 2.169–175.
- Kölligan, Daniel. 2016. Trois noms grecs en -ak-: πῖδαξ, λῦμαξ, φύλαξ. In: Alain Blanc and Daniel Petit (eds.): *Nouveaux acquis sur la formation des noms en grec ancien : Actes du colloque international, Université de Rouen, ERIAC, 17–18 octobre 2013*, 117–133. Louvain.
- Kölligan, Daniel. 2018. Funktionsverbgefüge und Sekundärwurzeln. In: Elisabeth Rieken (ed.): *100 Jahre Entzifferung des Hethitischen. Morphosyntaktische Kategorien in Sprachgeschichte und Forschung Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 23. September 2015 in Marburg*, 219–238. Wiesbaden.

- Komornicka, Anna M. 1976. La notion du temps chez Pindare. Divers emplois et aspects du terme 'chronos'. *Eos* 44.5–15.
- Konstas, Prokopios Ch. 2003. Eine pindarische Metapher (O. 2, 21/22). *Wiener Studien* 116.57–70.
- Kovacs, David (ed. and transl.). 1994. Euripides. *Cyclops. Alcestis. Medea*. Cambridge, MA.
- Kraay, Colin M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. Berkeley.
- Krentz, Peter and Everett Wheeler (eds.). 1994. Polyaeus. *Stratagems of War*. Chicago.
- Kretschmer, Paul. 1935. Zum Balkan-Skythischen. *Glotta* 24.1–56.
- Kretschmer, Paul. 1949. Nektar. *Anzeiger der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse* 84.13–26.
- Kretschmer, Paul, Hartmann, Felix, and Wilhelm Kroll. 1921. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1918. *Glotta* 11/3–4.226–276.
- Kroonen, Guus. 2013. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden.
- Krummen, Eveline. 1990. *Pysos Hymnon. Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie 1 und 3)*. Berlin/New York.
- Kulcsar, Péter (ed.). 1987. *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*. Turnhout.
- Kurke, Leslie. 1989. Pouring Prayers: A Formula of Indo-European Sacral Poetry? *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 17.113–125.
- Kurke, Leslie. 1991. *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy*. Ithaca, NY/London.
- Kurke, Leslie. 1993. The Economy of Kudos. In: Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke (eds.): *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics*, 131–163. New York.
- Kyriakou, Poulheria. 2001. Warrior Vaunts in the "Iliad". *Rheinisches Museum* 144/3–4.250–277.
- Landels, John G. 1964. Fragments of Auloi Found in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia* 44/4.392–400.
- Langdon, Susan H. 2008. *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 B.C.E.* Cambridge/New York.
- Lahiri, Ashok K. 1984. *Vedic Vṛtra: A Study and a Suggested Interpretation*. Delhi.
- Lamberterie, Charles de. 1990. *Les adjectifs grecs en -us*. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Lasserre, François. 1954. *Plutarque. De la musique*. Lausanne.
- Lasso de la Vega, García J. 1986–1987. Pindarica (I–IV). *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* 20.367–374.
- Latacz, Joachim. 2001. *Troia und Homer: der Weg zur Lösung eines alten Rätsels*. München.
- Latacz, Joachim (ed.). 2009. *Homers Ilias. Gesamtkommentar (Basler Kommentar/BK). Band 1. 1. Gesang. Faszikel 2 : Kommentar*. Berlin/New York.

- Latte, Kurt (ed.) and Ian C. Cunningham (rev. and emend.). 2018. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen I, A–Delta*. Berlin/Boston.
- Latte, Kurt (ed.) and Ian C. Cunningham (rev. and emend.). 2020. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen II, 1) Epsilon–Iota. 2) Kappa–Omicron*. Berlin/Boston.
- Lauer, Simon. 1959. *Zur Wortstellung bei Pindar*. Winterthur.
- Lavecchia, Salvatore. 1999. Pindaro fr. 282 Maehler: Orione δαίμων ταμίας Νείλου? *Hermes* 127/3.372–375.
- Lavecchia, Salvatore. 2000. *Pindari Dithyramborum Fragmenta*. Roma/Pisa.
- Lawson, John C. 1910. *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. Cambridge.
- Lazzeroni, Romano. 1988. Il nettare e l'ambrosia. Su alcune rappresentazioni indoeuropee della morte. *Studi e saggi linguistici* 28.177–179.
- Le Feuvre, Claire. 2015. *Ὅμηρος δύσγνωτος. Réinterprétations de termes homériques en grec archaïque et classique*. Genève.
- Leclercq-Neveu, Bernadette. 1989. Marsyas, le martyr de l'aulos. *Mètis* 4.251–268.
- Lefkowitz, Mary R. 1991. *First-Person Fictions: Pindar's Poetic I*. Oxford.
- Lentz, August (ed.). 1870. Aelius Herodianus. Περὶ Ὀδυσσεϊακῆς προσφθιάς. *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.2. Leipzig.
- Leukart, Alex. 1994. *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Herkunft und Ausbreitung: unter Vergleich mit den Nomina auf -eús*. Wien.
- Leumann, Manu. 1950. *Homerische Wörter*. Basel.
- Leurini, Aloisus. 2000. *Ionis Chii testimonia et fragmenta*. Amsterdam.
- LeVen, Pauline A. 2014. *The Many-Headed Muse: Tradition and Innovation in Late Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*. Cambridge.
- Lewis, Virginia M. 2019. Fluid Identities. The River Akragas and the Shaping of Akragantine Identity in *Olympian* 2. In: Virginia M. Lewis (ed.): *Myth, Locality, and Identity in Pindar's Sicilian Odes*, 179–222. Oxford.
- Lewy, Heinrich. 1895. *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*. Berlin.
- LfrE = Snell, Bruno (ed.). 1979–2000. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. 4 vols. Göttingen.
- LGPN = Parker, Robert, et al. (eds.). 1987–. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Online: <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed September 7, 2023).
- LIMC = Ackermann, Hans-Christoph, and the Stiftung für das LIMC. 1850–. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich.
- Lincoln, Bruce. 1971. *Priest, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
- Lincoln, Bruce. 1976. The Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myth. *History of Religions* 16.42–65.
- LIV² = Rix, Helmut and Martin J. Kümmel (eds.). 2001². *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Wiesbaden.
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh (ed. and transl.). 1994. Sophocles. *Antigone. The Women of Trachis. Philoctetes. Oedipus at Colonus*. Cambridge, MA.

- Lobel, Edgar. 1930. Corinna. *Hermes* 65.356–365.
- Lobel, Edgar. 1957. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXIV* (2383–2425). London.
- Lobel, Edgar. 1961. 2445. Pindar, Dithyrambs (?) (and other categories?). *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 26.86–101.
- Lobel, Edgar and Denys L. Page (eds.). 1955. *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford.
- Lomiento, Liana. 2010–2011. Inno alle Cariti con epinicio in Pindaro, Olimpica 14. *Rudiae* 22–23/1.285–305.
- Lomiento, Liana. 2013a. Olimpica iv. Introduzione. Commento. In: Bruno Gentili, Carmine Catenacci, Pietro Giannini, and Liana Lomiento (eds.): Pindaro. *Le Olimpiche*, 99–105, 432–438. Milano.
- Lomiento, Liana. 2013b. Olimpica v. Introduzione. Commento. In: Bruno Gentili, Carmine Catenacci, Pietro Giannini, and Liana Lomiento (eds.): Pindaro. *Le Olimpiche*, 113–124, 439–444. Milano.
- Lomiento, Liana. 2013c. Olimpica x. Introduzione. Commento. In: Bruno Gentili, Carmine Catenacci, Pietro Giannini, and Liana Lomiento (eds.): Pindaro. *Le Olimpiche*, 275–279, 577–581. Milano.
- Lommel, Hermann. 1926. Rasa. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4.196–206.
- Lord, Arthur B. 1986. The Merging of Two Worlds: Oral and Written Poetry as Carriers of Ancient Values. In: John M. Foley (ed.): *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*, 19–64. Columbia, MO.
- Lord, Arthur B. 1991. Ring Composition in *Maldon*, or a Possible Case of Chiasmus in a Late Anglo-Saxon Poem. In: Joseph Harris (ed.): *The Ballad and Oral Literature*, 233–242. Cambridge, MA.
- Loscalzo, Donato. 1989. Pindaro e la canna auletica della palude Copaide. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* N.S. 33.17–24.
- Luraghi, Nino. 1994. *Tirannidi Arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia: Da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi. Studi e testi*. Firenze.
- Maas, Paul. 1913. Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten bei Bakchylides und Pindar. *Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* 39.289–320.
- Maas, Paul. 1914. *Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten bei Bakchylides und Pindar*. Berlin.
- MacDonell, Arthur A. 1897. *Vedic Mythology*. Strassburg.
- MacLachlan, Bonnie. 2021. Pindar and Sicilian Nymphs. In: Heather L. Reid and Virginia M. Lewis (eds.): *Pindar in Sicily*. Sioux City, IA.
- MacLeod, Matthew D. (ed. and transl.). 1961. Lucian. *Dialogues of the Dead. Dialogues of the Sea-Gods. Dialogues of the Gods. Dialogues of the Courtesans*. Cambridge, MA.
- Maehler, Herwig. 1963. *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars*. Göttingen.
- Maehler, Herwig (ed.). 1980. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Leipzig.
- Maehler, Herwig (ed., transl., and comm.). 1997. *Die Lieder des Bakchylides. Erster Teil:*

- die Siegeslieder*. I. Edition des Textes mit Einleitung und Übersetzung. II. Kommentar. *Zweiter Teil: Die Dithyramben und Fragmente*. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Leiden.
- Maehler, Margaret. 1968. Notes on Theon's Hypomnema to Pindar's Pythians (*P. Oxy.* 2536). *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 3.100.
- Mair, Alexander W. and Gilbert R. Mair (ed. and transl.). 1921. Callimachus, Lycophron, Aratus. *Hymns and Epigrams. Lycophron: Alexandra. Aratus: Phaenomena*. Cambridge, MA.
- Major, Wilfred E. 2012–2013. Staging “Andromeda” in Aristophanes and Euripides. *The Classical Journal* 108/4.385–403.
- Maniates, Maria Rika. 2000. Marsyas Agonistes. *Current Musicology* 69.118–162.
- Marconi, Clemente. 2007. *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus*. Cambridge.
- Marold, Edith (ed.). 2017a. Eilífr Goðrúnarson. Þórsdrápa 3. In: Kari E. Gade and Edith Marold (eds.): *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics*, 80. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 3. Turnhout.
- Marold, Edith (ed.). 2017b. Vǫlu-Steinn. Qgmundardrápa 1. In: Kari E. Gade and Edith Marold (eds.): *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics*, 428. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 3. Turnhout.
- Martin, Richard P. 1984. Hesiod, Odysseus, and the Instruction of the Princes. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 114.29–48.
- Martin, Richard P. 2003. ‘The Pipes are Brawling’: Conceptualizing Musical Performance in Athens. In: Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke (eds.): *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, 153–181. Cambridge.
- Mancini, Marco. 1995–1996. Etimologia e semantica del gr. ἄγγαρος. *Glotta* 73/1.210–222.
- Manco, Alberto. 2012. I nomi del profumo tra opacità e inversioni di significato. In: Alfredo Carannante and Matteo D’Acunto (eds.): *I profumi nelle società antiche: produzione, commercio, usi, valori simbolici*, 80–91. Paestum.
- Manieri, Alessandra. 2021. Cibo e bevanda nel lessico metaforico pindarico. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*. 128/2.55–69.
- Maselli, Giorgio. 2002. La liberazione di Andromeda e l’eziologia del corallo: (Ov. Met. 4, 663–752). *Invigilata Luvernis* 24.127–150.
- Maslov, Boris. 2013. The Dialect Basis of Choral Lyric and the History of Poetic Languages in Archaic Greece. *Symbolae Osloenses* 87/1.1–29.
- Maslov, Boris. 2015. *Pindar and the Emergence of Literature*. Cambridge.
- Masseti, Laura. 2019. *Phraseologie und indogermanische Dichtersprache in der Sprache der griechischen Chorlyrik: Pindar und Bakchylides*. Online: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_MassetiL.Phraseologie_und_indogermanische_Dichtersprache.2019 (last accessed August 29, 2023).

- Massetti, Laura. 2020. Chatter and Laugh: Latin *garriō* 'chatter', TA *kary-*, TB *kery-* 'laugh', Old Irish *gáire* 'laughter' and PIE **ǵar-* 'to utter a loud sound'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 20.125–139.
- Massetti, Laura. 2023. Pindar, Perseus, and the θρήνος πολυκάρηνος in Nonnus of Panopolis. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 63/3.300–324.
- Massetti, Laura. forthcoming/a. "You Are now One of Us": Hermes and the χέλυσ, Syrdon and the *fændyr*. *AION* (filol.).
- Massetti, Laura. forthcoming/b. Fashioners of Poetic Drinks: The Inherited Background of Pindar's *Nemean Three* Metapoetic Metaphors. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*.
- Massetti, Laura. [in press]. To fix like a chariot: On PS 4.15.6–7, SS 4.12.6–7. *Proceedings of "The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts. 3rd Zurich International Conference on Indian Literature and Philosophy (ZICILP)", September 26–28, 2019*. Berlin.
- Matasovič, Ranko. 1996. *A Theory of Textual Reconstruction in Indo-European Linguistics*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Mathiesen, Thomas J. 1999. *Apollo's Lyre. Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Age*. Lincoln, NE.
- Matthews, Victor J. (ed.). 1996. *Antimachus of Colophon: Text and Commentary*. Leiden/New York.
- McKenzie, R. 1925. Etymologies. *The Classical Quarterly* 19/2.208–210.
- Méautis, Georges. 1956. "Pindarica". *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 30.224–230.
- Meer, Anneke van der. 1995. *Interpretatio Etrusca. Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*. Amsterdam.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1975⁸. *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*. Paris.
- Meineke, August (ed.). 1849. *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*. Berlin.
- Meister, Karl. von. 1921 [1966²]. *Die homerische Kunstsprache*. Leipzig [Stuttgart].
- Melchert, Craig H. 1998. Hittite *arku-* "Chant, Intone" vs. *arkuwā(i)-* "Make a Plea". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50.45–51.
- Melchert, Craig H. 2018. Semantics and Etymology of Hittite *takš*. In: Lucien van Beek, Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michaël Peyrot, Tijmen Pronk, and Michiel de Vaan (eds.): *Farnah. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Sasha Lubotsky*, 209–216. Ann Arbor, MI/New York.
- Merkelbach, Reinhold, Solmsen, Friedrich, and Martin L. West (eds.). 1990⁴. *Hesiodi Theogonia. Opera et dies. Scutum*. Oxford.
- Merkelbach, Reinhold and Martin L. West (eds.). 1999. *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford.
- Mertens, Dieter. 2006. *Städte und Bauten der Westgriechen: von der Kolonisationszeit bis zur Krise um 400 vor Christus*. München.
- Meusel, Eduard. 2020. *Pindarus indogermanicus. Untersuchungen zum Erbe dichter-sprachlicher Phraseologie bei Pindar*. Berlin.

- Meyer, Herbert. 1933. *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*. Würzburg.
- Mezger, Friedrich von. 1880. *Pindars Siegeslieder*. Leipzig.
- Miller, Frank J. (ed. and transl.) and George P. Goold (rev.). 1915–1916. Ovid. *Metamorphoses, Volume I–II*. Cambridge, MA.
- Miller, Margaret C. 2004. In Strange Company: Persians in Early Attic Theatre Imagery. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17.165–172.
- Miller, Stephen G. 1978. The Date of the First Pythiad. *Californian Studies in Classical Philology* 11.127–158.
- Misiano, Serena. 2001. *L'anacoluto in Pindaro*. MA Thesis. University of Messina.
- Mittner, Ladislao. 1954. *Wurd. Das Sakrale in der altgermanischen Epik*. Bern.
- Molyneux, John H. 1972. Two Problems concerning Heracles in Pindar Olympian 9.28–41. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 103.301–327.
- Mommsen, Theodor (ed.). 1864¹. 1866². *Pindari Carmina*. Berolini.
- Mondi, Robert J. 1978. *The Function and Social Position of the Kêrux in Early Greece*. Ph.D. Thesis. Harvard University.
- Morenz, Siegfried. 1962. Die orientalische Herkunft der Perseus-Andromeda-Sage. Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch. *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 36.307–309.
- Morrison, Andrew D. 2007. *Performances and Audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes*. London.
- Mosshammer, Alden A. 1982. The date of the first Pythiad—Again. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 23.15–30.
- Most, Glenn (ed. and transl.). 2007. Hesiod. *The Shield, Catalogue of Women, Other Fragments*. Cambridge, MA/London.
- Most, Glenn (ed. and transl.). 2018. Hesiod. *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*. Cambridge, MA.
- Mulokozi, Mugyabuso M. 2002. *The African Epic Controversy: Historical, Philosophical and Aesthetic Perspectives on Epic Poetry and Performance*. Dar es Salaam.
- Murray, Oswyn. 1992. Falaride tra mito e storia. In: Lorenzo Braccisi and Ernesto De Miro (eds.): *Agrigento e la Sicilia greca. Atti della settimana di studio. Agrigento 1988, 2–8 maggio, 47–60*. Roma.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1974. *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*. Cambridge, MA.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans. Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Society*. Baltimore, MD.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1990a. *Pindar's Homer. The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*. Baltimore, MD/London.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1990b. *Greek Mythology and Poetics*. Ithaca, NY. Online: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Nagy.Greek_Mythology_and_Poetics.1990 (last accessed March 8, 2023).
- Nagy, Gregory. 1996. *Homeric Questions*. Austin, TE. Online: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Nagy.Homeric_Questions.1996 (last accessed September 1, 2023).

- Nagy, Gregory. 2006. Homer's Name Revisited. In: Georges-Jean Pinault and Daniel Petit (eds.): *La Langue poétique indo-européenne : Actes du Colloque de travail de la Société des études Indo-Européennes, Paris, 22–24 octobre 2003*, 317–330. Leuven/Paris.
- Nagy, Gregory. 2013. The Delian Maidens and their Relevance to Choral Mimesis in Classical Drama. In: Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers (eds.): *Choral Mediations in Greek Tragedy*, 227–256. New York.
- Nagy, Gregory. 2015. A second look at a possible Mycenaean reflex in Homer: phorēnai. Online second edition of Nagy 1994–1995. <https://chs.harvard.edu/curated-article/gregory-nagy-a-second-look-at-a-possible-mycenaean-reflex-in-homer-phorenai/> (last accessed January 18, 2024).
- Nagy, Gregory. 2017a. A Sampling of Comments on *Odyssey* Rhapsody 21: <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/a-sampling-of-comments-on-odyssey-rhapsody-21/> (2017.08.10 / updated 2018.10.13, last accessed February 28, 2023).
- Nagy, Gregory. 2017b. Things said and not said in a ritual text: Iguvine Tables 1b 10–16 / 11b 48–53. In: Daniel Kölligan, Ivo Hajnal, and Katharina Zipster (eds.): *Miscellanea indogermanica. Festschrift für José Luis García Ramón zum 65. Geburtstag*, 509–550. Innsbruck.
- Nagy, Gregory. 2017c. Afterthoughts about Polycrates, Anacreon, and Ibycus: <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/afterthoughts-about-polycrates-anacreon-and-ibycus/> (2017.09.14) (last accessed March 8, 2023).
- Nagy, Gregory. 2017d. Polycrates and his patronage of two lyric masters, Anacreon and Ibycus. Online: <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/polycrates-and-his-patronage-of-two-lyric-masters-anacreon-and-ibycus/> (2017.09.08) (last accessed March 8, 2023).
- Neckel, Gustav and Hans Kuhn (eds.). 1962³. *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*. Heidelberg.
- Neer, Richard and Leslie Kurke. 2019. *Pindar, Song, and Space: Towards a Lyric Archaeology*. Baltimore, MD.
- Neira, Luz. 2015. Medusa en los mosaicos romanos: de la mirada que petrificaba a una mirada apotropaica. *Ars et Humanitas* 9/1.32–57.
- Neumann, Günter. 1986. Griechisch δοῦλος "Sklave". In: Annemarie Etter (ed.): *O-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, 489–496. Berlin.
- Nevskaja, Lidija G. 1993. *Балто-славянское причитание: Реконструкция семантической структуры*. Moskva.
- Newman, John K., and Frances S. Newman. 1984. *Pindar's Art: Its Tradition and Aims*. Hildesheim.
- Nierhaus, Rolf. 1936. *Strophe und Inhalt im Pindarischen Epinikion*. Berlin.
- Nieto Hernández, Pura. 2017. Coros femeninos en Píndaro. In: José Vincente Bañuls and Francesco De Martino (eds.): *El teatro clásico en el marco de la cultura griega*

- y su pervivencia en la cultura occidental. 20, *El coro dramático, un personaje singular*, 183–207. Bari.
- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2009. The Germanic word for sword and delocative derivation in Proto-Indo-European. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 37/3–4.462–489.
- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2010a. Исследования по праиндоевропейской именной морфологии. Sankt-Peterburg.
- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2010b. Time to Gather Stones Together: Greek λαῶς and Its Indo-European Background. In: Stephanie W. Jamison, Craig H. Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 21st Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 189–206. Bremen.
- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2011. Indo-European **dem*(*h*₂)- ‘to build’ and its derivatives. *Historische Sprachforschung* 123.56–96.
- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2014. Greek ἀμυρός and Indo-European **meh*₂- ‘great, large’. In: Stephanie W. Jamison, Craig H. Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 25th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 121–136. Bremen.
- NIL = Wodtko, Dagmar S., Irslinger, Britta and Caroline Schneider. 2001. *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg.
- Niles, John D. 1979. Ring-Composition in *La Chanson de Roland* and *La Chançon de Wil-liame*. *Olifant* 1.4–12.
- Nilsson, Martin P. 1932. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*. Berkeley.
- Nilsson, Martin P. and Emily Vermeule (rev.). 1983. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*. Berkeley/Los Angeles.
- Nisetich, Frank J. 1975. Olympian 1.8–11: An Epinician Metaphor. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79.55–68.
- Nooten, Barend A. van and Gary B. Holland (eds.). 1994. *Rig Veda. A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge, MA.
- Norden, Eduard. 1913. *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formen-Geschichte religiöser Rede*. Leipzig/Berlin.
- Nordquist, Richard. 2020. Definitions and Examples of Merisms in Rhetoric. In: *ThoughtCo*, Aug. 26, 2020. Online: <https://www.thoughtco.com/merism-rhetoric-term-1691307> (last accessed March 18, 2023).
- Nöthiger, Markus. 1971. *Die Sprache des Stesichorus und des Ibycus*. Zürich.
- Nünlist, Rene. 1998. *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*. Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 1986. *Head and Horn in Indo-European*. Berlin/New York.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 1998. Severe Problems. In: Jay H. Jasanoff, Craig H. Melchert, and Lisi Oliver (eds.): *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, 521–538. Innsbruck.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 2014. The PIE Proprietor and His Goods. In: Craig H. Melchert, Elisabeth Rieken, and Thomas Steer (eds.): *Munus amicitiae. Norbert Oettinger a collegis et amicis dicatum*, 228–254. Ann Arbor, MI/New York.

- Nussbaum, Alan J. 2018. The Homeric Formulary Template and a Linguistic Innovation in the Epics. In: Olav Hackstein and Dieter Gunkel (eds.): *Language and Meter*, 267–318. Leiden/Boston.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 2022. Persephonology and Persemorphology: Περσεφόνη/Φερροφᾶττα etc. ‘Sheaf Thresher’ reanalyzed. In: Hannes Fellner, Melanie Malzhan, and Michaël Peyrot (eds.): *lyuke wmer ra. Indo-European Studies in Honor of Geroges-Jean Pinault*, 391–403. Ann Arbor, MI/New York.
- Oakley, John H. 1988. Perseus, the Graiai, and Aeschylus’ *Phorkides*. *The American Journal of Archaeology* 92.383–391.
- Oberlies, Thomas. 2012. *Der Rigveda und seine Religion*. Berlin.
- Oettinger, Norbert. 2010a. Die indogermanischen Wörter für ‚Schlange‘. In: Ronald Kim, Norbert Oettinger, Elisabeth Rieken, and Michael Weiss (eds.): *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of H. Craig Melchert*, 278–284. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Oettinger, Norbert. 2010b. Nochmals hethitisch *illuyanka*- und lateinisch *anguis* ‚Schlange‘. In: Jörg Klinger, Elisabeth Rieken, and Christel Rüster (eds.): *Investigationes Anatolicae. Gedenkschrift für Erich Neu*, 189–196. Wiesbaden.
- Ogden, Daniel. 2008. *Perseus*. London/New York.
- Ogden, Daniel. 2013. *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford.
- Okpewho, Isidore. 1979. *The Epic in Africa: Toward a Poetic of the Oral Performance*. New York.
- Olander, Thomas. 2018. Connecting the Dots: The Indo-European Family Tree as a Heuristic Device. In: David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 29th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 181–202. Bremen.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. 1923 [1988⁴]. *Die Religion des Veda*. Stuttgart/Berlin.
- Oldfather, Charles H. (ed. and transl.). 1939. Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History, Volume III: Books 4.59–58*. Cambridge, MA.
- Oldfather, Charles H. (ed. and transl.). 1946. Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History, Volume IV: Books 9–12.40*. Cambridge, MA.
- Olivieri, Alexander (ed.). 1897. Pseudo-Eratosthenis catasterismi. *Mythographi Graeci* 3.1. Leipzig.
- Olmsted, Garrett S. 1994. *The Gods of the Celts and of the Indo-Europeans*. Innsbruck.
- Olson, Douglas S. 2007–2012. Athenaeus. *The Learned Banqueters, Volume I–VIII*. Cambridge, MA.
- Oreshko, Rostislav. 2018. *Ahhiyawa–Danu(na)*. Aegean Ethnic Groups in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Light of Old and New Hieroglyphic-Luwian Evidence. In: Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò and Marek Węcowski (eds.): *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age*, 23–56. Wiesbaden.

- Orlandi, Chatia. 1991. *Gli inni dell'Atharvaveda (Śaunaka)*. Pisa.
- Osthoff, Hermann. 1901. *Etymologische Parerga*. Leipzig.
- Otterlo, Willem A.A. van. 1944. *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition*. Amsterdam.
- Otto, Edzat D. 1990. Gilgamesh und Huwawa A.I. Teil. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 80.165–203.
- Otto, Edzat D. 1991. Gilgamesh und Huwawa A. II. Teil. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 81.165–233.
- Otto, Edzat D. 1993. "Gilgamesh und Huwawa". Zwei Versionen der sumerischen Zedernwaldepisode nebst einer Edition von Version "B". *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 4.1–61.
- Pagano, Vincenzo (ed. and comm.). 2010. *L'Andromeda di Euripide*. Alessandria.
- Palaima, Thomas G. 1995. The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions. In: Paul Rehak (ed.): *The Role of the Ruler in the Pre-historic Aegean*, 119–139. Liège.
- Palaiogeorgou, Athanasia. 2002. Pindar's "Pythian" 10: the case of the myth. *Δωδώνη* 31.279–289.
- Palmer, Leonard R. 1980. *The Greek Language*. London.
- Palmisciano, Riccardo. 2017. *Dialoghi per voce sola. La cultura del lamento funebre nella Grecia antica*. Roma.
- Palmisciano, Riccardo. 2022. To Speak Like a Bird: Beyond a Literary Topos. In: Andrea Ercolani and Laura Lulli (eds.): *Rethinking Orality 1: Codification, Transcodification and Transmission of 'Cultural Messages'*, 105–118. Berlin/Boston.
- Pàmias Massana, Jordi. 1999. La "Andrómeda" de Sófocles: ¿ un nuevo testimonio ? (Eratosth. "Cat." XVII). *Emérita* 67/2.285–288.
- Panagl, Oswald. 2007. Herold, Sänger oder Kultfunktionar? Rolle und Bedeutung von *ka-ru-ke* in mykenischer Zeit. In: Eva Alram-Stern and Georg Nightingale (eds.): *Keimelion. Elitenbildung und Elitärer Konsum von der mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche. Akten der internationalen Kongresses vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2005 in Salzburg*, 311–316. Wien.
- Papadopoulou, Zozie and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge. 2001. Inventer et réinventer l'*aulos*: Autour de la XII^e *Pythique* de Pindare. In: Pierre Brulé and Christophe Vendries (eds.): *Chanter les dieux: Musique et religion dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, 37–60. Rennes. Online: <https://books.openedition.org/pur/23694?lang=en> (last accessed February 27, 2023).
- Paquette, Daniel. 1984. *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique*. Paris.
- Pardini, Alessandro. 1997. Pind. Pyth. 12.30 ΟΥ ΠΑΙ ΦΥΚΤΟΝ. *Rheinisches Museum* 140. 412–413.
- Parker, Robert. 1996 [2010]. *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford.

- Parks, Walter W. 1988. Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 89/3.237–251.
- Parry, Milman. 1930. Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. 1: Homer and Homeric Style. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41.73–148.
- Paton, William R. (ed.). Walbank, Frank W., and Christian Habicht (rev.). 2010–2012. Polybius. *The Histories*. 6 vols. Cambridge, MA.
- Paton, William R. (ed. and transl.). 1917–1918. Tueller, Michael A. (rev.). 2014. *Greek Anthology, Volumes I–V*. Cambridge, MA.
- Pavese, Carlo O. 1967. La lingua della poesia corale come lingua d'una tradizione poetica settentrionale. *Glotta* 45/3–4.164–185.
- Pavese, Carlo O. 1974. *Studi sulla tradizione epica rapsodica*. Roma.
- Pavese, Carlo O. 1990. Pindarica II. Note critiche al testo delle “Olimpiche” e delle “Pitiche”. *EIKΑΣΜΟΣ* 1.37–82.
- Pavese, Carlo O. 1991. Αὔω 3^ο τὸ ξηραίνω: un nuovo verbo nella Pitica XII di Pindaro, in Simonide e in Alcmane. *Lexis* 7–8.73–97.
- Pavlou, Maria. 2012. Fathers in absentia in Pindar's Epinician Poetry. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52.57–88.
- Payne, Humfry. 1931. *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*. Oxford.
- Pellizer, Ezio. 1987. Voir le visage de Méduse. *Mètis* 2.45–60.
- Pennington Bolton, James D. 1962. *Aristeus of Proconnesus*. Oxford.
- Peponi, Anastasia-Erasmia. 2009. Chorea and Aesthetics in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: The Performance of the Delian Maidens (Lines 156–164). *Classical Antiquity* 28/1.39–70.
- Perkell, Christine. 2008. Reading the Laments of *Iliad* 24. In: Ann Suter (ed.): *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*, 93–117. Oxford.
- Perrin, Bernadotte (ed. and transl.). 1917. Plutarch. *Lives, Volume v: Agesilaus and Pompey. Pelopidas and Marcellus*. Cambridge, MA.
- Perrot, Sylvain. 2012. Le sifflement du serpent: du son inarticulé à la mise en musique. *Anthropozoologica* 47/1.345–361.
- Peters, Martin. 1980. *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen*. Wien.
- Peters, Martin. 1993. Beiträge zur griechischen Etymologie. In: Lambert Isebaert (ed.): *Miscellanea linguistica graeco-latina*, 85–113. Namur.
- Petersmann, Hubert. 1986. Persephone im Lichte des altorientalischen Mythos. *Die Sprache* 32.286–307.
- Pettazzoni, Raffaele. 1921–1922. Le Origini della Testa di Medusa. *Bollettino d'Arte* 2.491–510.
- Pfeiffer, Rudolfus (ed.). 1949–1953. *Callimachus. 1: Fragmenta. 2: Hymni et epigrammata*. Oxford.

- Pfeijffer, Ilja L. 1991. Die Bedeutung von ἐκτελεῦσθαι in Pind. *P.* 12,29. *Mnemosyne* 44.410–411.
- Pfister, Friedrich. 1924. Epiphanie. In: *RE Supplementband* 4.277–323.
- Phillies-Howe [Feldman], Thalia. 1958. The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head. *The American Journal of Archeology* 58.209–221.
- Phillips, Tom. 2013. Epinician variations: music and text in Pindar, Pythians 2 and 12. *The Classical Quarterly* 63/1.37–56.
- Phillips, Tom. 2016. *Pindar's Library: Performance Poetry and Material Texts*. Oxford.
- Piccirilli, Luigi (ed.). 1985. *Storie dello storico Tuciddide: edizione critica, traduzione e commento delle vite tucididee*. Genova.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean. 1982. L'expression indo-européenne de la nomination. *Études indo-européennes* 3.15–26.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2003. Sur les thèmes en *-u: derivation et étymologie. In: Eva Tichy, Dagmar S. Wodtke, and Britta Irslinger (eds.): *Derivation, Flexion und Ablaut. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Freiburg, 19 bis 22. Sept. 2001*, 153–188. Bremen.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2016. On Bṛhaspati's name. In: Jan E.M. Houben, Julieta Rotaru, and Michael Witzel (eds.): *Vedic Śākhās: Past, Present, Future. Proceedings of the Fifth International Vedic Workshop (Bucharest, September 2011)*, 999–1007. Cambridge, MA.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean. forthcoming. Prepositional Governing Compounds in Tocharian.
- Pirart, Eric. 2006. *Guerriers d'Iran. Traductions annotées des textes avestiques du culte zoroastrien rendu aux dieux Tistriya, Miθra et Vrθragna*. Paris.
- Pirart, Eric. 2010. *Les Adorables de Zoroastre, textes avestiques traduits et présentés*. Paris.
- PMG = Page, Denys L. (ed.). 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci: Alcmanis, Stesichori, Ibyci, Anacreontis, Simonidis, Corinnae, poetarum minorum reliquias, carmina popularia et convivialia quae adespotata feruntur*. Oxford.
- Pöhlmann, Egert. 2010–2011. Pythikos and Polykephalos Nomos: Compulsory and Optional Exercise in the Pythian Contest. *Rudiae* 22–23.271–283.
- Politis, Nikolaos. G. 1878. *Ο περί των Γοργονών μύθος παρά τω ελληνικῷ λαῷ*. Αθήνα.
- Poltera, Orlando (ed.). 2008. *Simonides lyricus. Testimonia und Fragmente*. Basel.
- Pontani, Filippomaria (ed.). 2007–. *Scholia graeca in Odysseam*. Roma.
- Portale, Elisa C. 2012. Le “nymphai” e l'acqua in Sicilia: contesti rituali e morfologia dei votivi. In: Anna Calderone (ed.): *Cultura e religione delle acque: atti del Convegno interdisciplinare “Qui fresca l'acqua mormora ...” (S. Quasimodo, Sapph.fr. 2,5): Messina, 29–30 marzo 2011*, 169–191. Roma.
- Powell, Johannes U. 1925. *Collectanea Alexandrina: reliquiae minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae 323–146 a. C. Epicorum, elegiacorum, lyricorum, ethicorum. Cum epimetris et indice nominum*. Oxford.

- Power, Timothy J. 2010. *The Culture of Kitharôidia*. Washington, DC.
- Preller, Ludwig and Carl Robert. 1921–1924⁴. *Die griechische Heldensage*. 3 vols. Berlin.
- Prior, Daniel G. 2002. *The Twilight Age of the Kirghiz Epic Tradition*. Ph.D. Thesis. Indiana University.
- Privitera, G. Aurelio. 1967. La rete di Afrodite. Ricerche sulla prima ode di Saffo. *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 4.7–58.
- Privitera, G. Aurelio. (ed., transl., and comm.). [1982] 2001⁴. Pindaro. *Le Istmiche*. Milano.
- Puech, Aimé. 1922. *Pythiques*. Paris.
- Race, William H. 1982. Aspects of rhetoric and form in Greek hymns. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 23.5–14.
- Race, William H. 1989. Elements of Style in Pindaric Break-Offs. *The American Journal of Philology* 100.189–209.
- Race, William H. (ed. and transl.). 1997a. Pindar. *Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes*. Cambridge, MA.
- Race, William H. (ed. and transl.). 1997b. Pindar. *Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments*. Cambridge, MA.
- Race, William H. 2002. Framing Hyperbata in Pindar's Odes. *The Classical Journal* 98.21–33.
- Race, William H. 2004. Elements of Plot and the Formal Presentation in Pindar's "Olympian" 12. *The Classical Journal* 99/4.373–394.
- Race, William H. (ed. and transl.). 2009. Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. Cambridge, MA.
- Rackham, Harris (ed. and transl.). 1932. Aristotle. *Politics*. Cambridge, MA.
- Rackham, Harris (ed. and transl.). 1938–1952. Plinius the Elder. *Natural History. Vol. 1–1X*. Cambridge, MA.
- Radermacher, Ludwig. 1922. Danae und der goldene Regen. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 25.216–219.
- Radt, Stefan. 1974. Review of Adolf Köhnken. *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar. Interpretationen zu sechs Pindargedichten*. Berlin/New York 1971. *Gnomon* 46/2.113–121.
- Rahmani, S. 2008. Le nectar et l'ambrosie d'après la lecture d'Homère. In: Michel Mazoyer (ed.): *Homère et l'Anatolie*, 195–208. Paris.
- Rau, Jeremy. 2007. YAv. *haosrauuah-* and *dāuš.srauuah-*. *Historische Sprachforschung* 120.156–168.
- Rau, Jeremy. 2009. *Indo-European Nominal Morphology: The Decads and the Caland System*. Innsbruck.
- Rau, Wilhelm. 1957. *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*. Wiesbaden.
- RE = Pauly, August F. and Georg Wissowa (ed.) et al. (rev.). 1890–. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart.

- Recchia, Marco. 2017. Pindaro e i poeti di Sparta arcaica: un frammento pindarico in "POxy" 2389? *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* n.s. 115/1.53–65.
- Reden, Sitta. von. 1995. Deceptive readings: poetry and its value reconsidered. *The Classical Quarterly* n.s. 45.30–50.
- Reece, Steve. 1995. The Three Circuits of the Suitors: A Ring Composition in *Odyssey* 17–22. *Oral Tradition* 10/1.207–229.
- Renou, Louis. 1934. *Vjtra et Vjðragna: étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*. Paris.
- Renou, Louis. 1955. *Études vediques et pāṇinéennes* 1. Paris.
- Riaño Ruffilanchas, Daniel. 2001. Pindaro Pítica 12.28–32. Demon y tiempo en la concepción de la providencia de Pindaro. *Emérita* 69/1.63–91.
- Riccioni, Giuliana. 1960. Origine e sviluppo del gorgoneion e del mito della Gorgone-Medusa nell'arte greca. *Rivista Italiana di Archeologia* 9.127–206.
- Risch, Ernst. 1974². *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. Berlin/New York.
- Rispoli, Gioia M. 1972. Per l'Andromeda di Sofocle. *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 47.187–210.
- Robbins Dexter, Miriam. 2010. The Ferocious and the Erotic: "Beautiful" Medusa and the Neolithic Bird and Snake. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 26/1.25–41.
- Robert, Louis. 1955. *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*. Volume 10. Paris.
- Robertson, Noel. 1978. The myth of the first sacred war. *The Classical Quarterly* 28/1.38–73.
- Rocha-Pereira, Maria Helena (ed.). 2013. Pausanias Periegeta. *Graeciae descriptio*. 3 vols. Berlin/Boston.
- Rodríguez Blanco, María Eugenia. 2011. Las mujeres monstruo y monstruos de mujer en la mitología griega. In: Rosario López Gregoris and Luis Unceta Gómez (eds.): *Ideas de mujer: facetas de lo femenino en la Antigüedad*, 65–91. San Vicente del Raspeig.
- Roesch, Paul. 1989. L'aulos et les aulètes en Béotie. In: Hartmut Beister, John Buckler et al. (eds.): *Boiotika: Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siegfried Lauffer: Institut für Alte Geschichte, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*, 13.–17. Juni 1986, 203–214. München.
- Rohde, Erwin. 1894–1898. *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*. 2 vols. Freiburg/Leipzig.
- Roller, Lynn E. 1983. The Legend of Midas. *Classical Antiquity* 2.299–313.
- Roscher, Wilhelm H. 1883. *Nektar und Ambrosia: mit einem Anhang über die Grundbedeutung der Aphrodite und Athene*. Leipzig.
- Rose, Herbert J. (ed.). 1933. Hyginus. *Fabulae*. Lugduni Batavorum.
- Rossi, Paola Maria. 2023. Indra-kavi: Rgvedic Lordship, Bovine Environment, and Onomatopoeic Poetry. *Cracow Indological Studies* 25/1.259–299.
- Rostowzew, Michail I. 1906. Angariae. *Klio* 6.249–258.

- Rousseau, Nathalie. 2016. *Du syntagme au lexique. Sur la composition en grec ancien*. Paris.
- Rushton Fairclough, H. (ed. and transl.) and George P. Goold (rev.). 1916–1918. Virgil. Vol. 1: *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*. Vol. 11: *Aeneid: Books 7–12. Appendix Vergiliana*. Cambridge, MA.
- Rutherford, Ian (ed.). 2008. *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*. Oxford.
- Rutherford, Ian. 2013. Odes and Ends: Closure in Greek Lyric. In: Deborah H. Roberts, Francis M. Dunn, and Don Fowler (eds.): *Classical Closure. Reading the End of Greek and Latin Literature*, 43–61. Princeton, NJ.
- Sandys, John E. 1937. *The Odes of Pindar*. Cambridge, MA.
- Sansone di Campobianco, Luca. 2003. Analisi di un mito: l'identità di Perseo. *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 33.41–65.
- Sarup, Lakshman (ed. and transl.). 1920–1929. *Yāska. The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta: The Oldest Indian Treatise on Etymology, Philology and Semantics*. Delhi.
- Scarlata, Salvatore. 1999. *Die Wurzelkomposita im R̥gveda*. Wiesbaden.
- Schadewaldt, Wolfgang. 1928 [1966, 2015]. *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*. Halle. [Berlin].
- Schindler, Jochem. 1987. Zur avestischen Kompositionslehre: aš- 'groß'. In: George Cardona and Norman H. Zide (eds.): *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, 337–354. Tübingen.
- Schlesinger, Eilhard. 1968. Pindar, Pyth. 12. *Hermes* 96.275–286.
- Schmeja, Hans. 1963. Die Verwandtschaftsnamen auf -ως und die Nomina auf -ωνός, -ωνη im Griechischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 68.22–41.
- Schmid, Erasmus (ed.). 1616. *Pindarou Periodos*. Vitebergae.
- Schmidt, Hanns-Peter. 1968. *Br̥haspati und Indra: Untersuchungen zur vedischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte*. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1968. *Indogermanische Dichtersprache*. Darmstadt.
- Schrader, Otto. 1890. Etymologisches und kulturhistorisches. I. Aus dem griechischen. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 30/5.461–485.
- Schrijver, Peter. 1991. *The Reflexes of Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam.
- Schroeder, Leopold von (ed.). 1881–1886. *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā*. Wiesbaden.
- Schroeder, Otto von (ed.). 1900¹ (1923, ed. maior). *Pindari Carmina*. Leipzig. (1908¹, 1914², 1930³ [ed. minor]).
- Schroeder, Otto von. 1922. *Pindars Pythien*. Leipzig.
- Schürch, Peter. 1971. *Zur Wortresponion bei Pindar*. Bern/Frankfurt.

- Schwyzler, Eduard. 1939. *Griechische Grammatik: auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechische Grammatik*. Vol. 1. München.
- Segal, Charles. 1994. The Gorgon and the Nightingale: The Voice of Female Lament and Pindar's Twelfth Pythian Ode. In: Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (eds.): *Embodied Voices: The Representation of Female Vocality in Western Culture*, 17–34. Cambridge.
- Segal, Charles. 1995. Perseus and the Gorgon: Pindar, *Pythian* 12.9–12 Reconsidered. *The American Journal of Philology* 116.7–17.
- Segal, Charles. 1998. *Aglaia. The Poetry of Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, Bacchylides and Corinna*. Lanham, MD.
- Sekunda, Nicholas V. 1996. Anatolian War Sickles and the Coinage of Etenna. In: Richard Ashton (ed.): *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey*, 9–17. London.
- Serangeli, Matilde. 2016. PIE **mel-*: Some Anatolian and Greek Thoughts—Gk. μέλω, Hitt. *mala-bhi*/*malāi-mi*, CLuv. *mali(ya)-**. In: David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Brent Vine (eds.): *Proceedings of the 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 183–197. Bremen.
- Sfyroeras, Pavlos. 2008. Πόθος Εὐριπίδου: Reading “Andromeda” in Aristophanes’ “Frogs”. *The American Journal of Philology* 129/3.299–317.
- Shende, N.J. 1947. Brhaspati in the Vedic and epic literature. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* 8.225–251.
- Shende, N.J. 1950. Angiras in the Vedic literature. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 31/1.108–131.
- Shorey, Paul (ed. and transl.). 1982–1987. Plato. *The Republic*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA.
- Six, Jan. 1885. *De Gorgone*. Amsterdam.
- SLG = Page, Denys L. (ed.). 1974. *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis: poetarum lyricorum Graecorum fragmenta quae recens innotuerunt*. Oxford.
- Slade, Benjamin. 2008. How (exactly) to slay a dragon in Indo-European ? :: PIE **bheid-h₃ég^{whim}*, *k^wǵmi-*. *Historische Sprachforschung* 121.3–53.
- Slater, William J. 1969. *Lexicon to Pindar*. Berlin.
- Slater, William J. 1983. Lyric Narrative. Structure and Principle. *Classical Antiquity* 2.117–132.
- Snodgrass, Anthony M. 1998. *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art*. Cambridge.
- Söhnen-Thieme, Renate. 2001. On the Vrtra myth in the Rgveda: a question of stratification. In: Maria Gabriela Schmidt and Walter Bisang (eds.): *Philologica et linguistica. Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001*, 302–315. Trier.
- Sommerstein, Alan H. (ed. and transl.). 2009a. Aeschylus. *Oresteia: Agamemnon. Libation-Bearers. Eumenides*. Cambridge, MA.
- Sommerstein, Alan H. (ed. and transl.). 2009b. Aeschylus. *Persians. Seven against Thebes. Suppliants. Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge, MA.

- Sotiriou, Margarita. 1998. *Pindarus Homericus: Homer-Rezeption in Pindars Epinikien*. Göttingen.
- Sotiriou, Margarita. 2001. Pindar P. 12.11 Sn.-M.: ἄϋσεν oder ἄνυ[σ]σεν? Versuch einer Erklärung. *Hermes* 129.124–125.
- Spelman, Henry L. 2018. *Pindar and the Poetics of Permanence*. Oxford.
- Spinedi, Tullia. 2016. Music legends and ἀϋλητική in Boeotia. Talk presented at the Seminar “Editare, Interpretare, Commentare. Approcci multiformi al testo letterario, Third International PhD Seminar”. University of Urbino, June 23–24.
- Spinedi, Tullia. 2018. *Per una nuova edizione di Corinna di Tanagra: Studio preliminare*. Ph.D. Thesis. Università di Urbino Carlo Bo.
- Spinedi, Tullia. 2023. Corinna: a (female) voice for the Boeotians. Paper presented at the international conference “What’s in a Poet? The Figure of the Poet in Archaic and Classical Greece”, Universitat de Barcelona & Institut d’Estudis Catalans, July 05.
- Starke, Frank. 1990. *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*. Wiesbaden.
- Stefani de, Eduardo L. (ed.). 1965. *Etymologicum Gudianum quod vocatur: recensuit et apparatus criticum indicesque adiecit Eduardo Luigi de Stefani*. Amsterdam.
- Steiner, Deborah. 1986. *The Crown of Song. Metaphor in Pindar*. London.
- Steiner, Deborah. 2013. The Gorgons’ Lament. Auletics, Poetics, and Chorality in Pindar’s *Pythian* 12. *The American Journal of Philology* 134/2.173–208.
- Stokes, Whitley. 1899. The Bodleian Amra Coluim Chille. *Revue Celtique* 20.31–55, 132–183, 248–289, 400–437.
- Stokes, Whitley. 1901. Irish Etymologies. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 12.185–195.
- Stoneman, Richard. 1981. Ploughing a Garland: Metaphor and Metonymy in Pindar. *Maia* N.S. 33.125–137.
- Stüber, Karin. 2002. *Die primären s-Stämme des Indogermanischen*. Wiesbaden.
- Ström, Åke V. 1967. Indogermanisches in der Völuspa. *Numen* 14.186–187.
- Strunk, Klaus. 1969. Verkannte Spuren eines weiteren Tiefstufentyps im Griechischen. *Glotta* 47.1–8.
- Suárez de la Torre, Emilio. 2016. Las epifanías de Atenea: (selección). Miriam Blanco Cesteros (ed.): *Fronteras entre el verso y la prosa en la literatura helenística y helenístico-romana: Homenaje al Prof. José Guillermo Montes Cala*, 679–692. Bari.
- Sulzer, Asta I. 1961. *ΚΑΥΤΑΙΕΙ ΔΑΙΔΑΛΩΣΕΜΕΝ ΥΜΝΩΝ ΠΤΥΧΑΙΣ. Wortstellung und Satzbildung bei Pindar*. Zürich.
- Sukthankar, Vishnu S. et al. (eds.). *The Mahābhārata*. 19 vols. Poona.
- Szemerényi, Oswald. 1979. Etyma Graeca IV (22–29): Homerica et Mycenaica. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 20.207–226.
- Szidat, Sabina G. 2013. Versteinert durch Gorgos Blick. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 63.379–420.
- Taillardat, Jean. 1986. Sur deux passages de la VIII^e Pythique (v. 67–69 et 77–78). *Revue des Études Grecques* 99.225–238.

- Tarditi, Giovanni. 1968. Sull'origine e sul significato della parola rapsodo. *Maia* 20.137–145.
- Terzēs, Chrístos and Stefan Hagel. 2022. Two Auloi from Megara. *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 10.15–77.
- Theodoridis, Christos (ed.). 1976. *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Philoxenos*. Berlin.
- Thiel van, Helmut (ed.). 1991. *Homeri Odyssea*. Hildesheim.
- Thiel van, Helmut (ed.). 1996. *Homeri Ilias*. Hildesheim.
- Thiel van, Helmut (ed.). 2000¹ [2014]. *Scholia D in Iliadem. Proecdosis aucta et correctior* (Cologne 2014). <https://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/> (last accessed October 5, 2023).
- Thieme, Paul. 1952. *Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin.
- Thieme, Paul. 1965. Īsopaniṣad (= Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā 40) 1–14. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85.96.
- Thiersch, Friedrich C.J. (ed. and transl.). 1820. *Pindarus. Werke*. Leipzig.
- Thilo, Georg (ed.). 1878–1884. *In Vergilii Aeneidos Libros Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. 2 vols. Lipsiae.
- Thomas, Rosalind. 2007. Fame, Memorial, and Choral Poetry: The Origins of Epinikian Poetry—an Historical Study. In: Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan (eds.): *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, 141–166. Oxford.
- Thompson, George. 1995. The Pursuit of Hidden Tracks in Vedic. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 38.1–30.
- Thummer, Erich. 1968–1969. *Die Isthmischen Gedichte*. Heidelberg.
- Thureau-Dangin, François. 1925. Humbaba. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 22.23–26.
- Thurneysen, Rudolf. 1946. *A Grammar of Old Irish. Revised and Enlarged Edition* (transl. Daniel A. Binchy and Joseph O. Bergin). Dublin.
- Toporov, Vladimir N. 1974. *ΠΥΘΩΝ, Ahi Budhnya, badnjak i dr. etimologija*. Moskva.
- Toporov, Vladimir N. (Toporovna ed.). 1997 [2012]. *Пиндар и Ригведа. Гимны Пиндара и ведийские гимны как основа реконструкции индоевропейской гимновой традиции*. Moskva.
- Topper, Kathryn. 2007. Perseus, the Maiden Medusa, and the Imagery of Abduction. *Hesperia* 76/1.73–105.
- Topper, Kathryn. 2010. Maidens, Fillies and the Death of Medusa on a Seventh-Century Pithos. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120.109–119.
- TrGF = Kannicht, Richard, Radt, Stefan, and Bruno Snell (eds.). 1981–2004. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 5 vols. Göttingen.
- Treu, Max. 1974. Theons Pindarkommentar (Pap. Oxy. 2536). In: John L. Heller and John K. Newman (eds.): *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Paleography in honor of A. Turyn*, 62–85. Urbana, IL/Chiacago/London.

- Tribulato, Olga. 2015. *Ancient Greek Verbal-Initial Compounds: Their Diachronic Development Within the Greek Compound System*. Berlin/New York.
- Trümpy, Catherine. 1986. *Vergleich des Mykenischen mit der Sprache der Chorlyrik: bewahrt die Chorlyrik eine von Homer unabhängige alte Sprachtradition?* Bern/New York.
- Tsagalis, Christos. 2004. *Epic Grief: Personal Laments in Homer's Iliad*. Berlin.
- Tsiafakis, Despoina. 2003. ΠΕΛΩΡΑ: Fabolous Creatures and/or Daemons of Death? In: Michael J. Padgett, William A.P. Childs, Despoina S. Tsiafakis (eds.): *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art*, 73–104. Princeton, NJ.
- Tsountas, Chrestos D. 1885. Σκευός πῆλινον καὶ τεμάχια ἀγγείων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. *ΕΦΕΜΕΡΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ* 3.117–128.
- Tuck, Anthony. 2006. Singing the Rug: Patterned Textiles and the Origins of Indo-European Metrical Poetry. *The American Journal of Archaeology* 110/4.539–550.
- Turner, Eric G. (ed.). 1968. *Greek Papyri*. Oxford.
- Turyn, Alexander. 1932. *De codicibus Pindaricis*. Cracoviae.
- Turyn, Alexander. 1948. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Cracoviae.
- Tzetztes, Isaac (ed.). 1811. *Isaakiou kai Ioannou tou Tzetzou Scholia eis Lykophrona*. Lipsiae.
- Ucciardello, Giuseppe. 2012. Ancient Readers of Pindar's Epinicians in Egypt: Evidence from Papyri. In: Peter Agócs, Chris Carey, and Richard Rawles (eds.): *Receiving the Komos. Ancient & Modern Receptions of the Victory Ode*, 105–140. London.
- Uhlig, Anna. 2019. *Theatrical Reenactment in Pindar and Aeschylus*. Cambridge.
- Uría Varela, Javier. 1992. El néctar y la ambrosia: nota interpretativa al Himno a Apolo (189–193). *Myrtia* 7.141–145.
- Valerio, Francesco. 2017. Coppa di Nestore. *Axon* 1/1.11–17.
- Venkatasubbiah, Appajodu. 1965. On Indra's Winning of Cows and Waters. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 115/1.120–133.
- Verdenius, Willem J. 1949. Ambrozijn en nectar. *Hermeneus* 20.142–144.
- Verdier, Christian. 1972. *Les éolismes non-épiques de la langue de Pindare*. Innsbruck.
- Vernant, Jean Pierre. 1985. *La mort dans les yeux: figures de l'Autre en Grèce ancienne: Artémis, Gorgô*. Paris.
- Vernant, Jean Pierre. 1991. *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*. Princeton, NJ.
- Vernant, Jean Pierre. 1995. 'La voce della Gorgone'. In: Donatella Restani (ed.): *Musica e mito nella Grecia antica*, 189–202. Bologna.
- Vian, Francis (ed.). 1976–2003. Nonnos de Panopolis. *Les Dionysiaques*. 18 vols. Paris.
- Vine, Brent. 1999. On "Cowgill's Law" in Greek. In: Heiner Eichner and Hans Christain Luschützky (eds.): *Compositiones Indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*, 555–600. Praha.
- Vivante, Paolo. 1990. Pindar Pythian XII. In: Paul Roesch and Albert Schachter (eds.): *Essays in the Topography History and Culture of Boiotia*, 125–127. Montreal.

- Viré, Ghislaine (ed.). 1992. *Hygini De astronomia*. Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- Vissicchio, Sabrina. 1997. Le metafore pindariche relative ad ambiti musicali. *Rudiae* 9.279–306.
- Voigt, Eva Maria (ed.). 1971. *Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta*. Amsterdam.
- Wachter, Rudolf. 2006. Review of *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* 19 (Πασιδίχη-πλέυμων), 20 (πλευραί-πῶν). Göttingen 1999–2000. *Kratylos* 51.136–144.
- Wachter, Rudolf. 2007–2008. Persephone, the Threshing Maiden. *Die Sprache* 47/2.163–181.
- Wackernagel, Jacob. 1918. Indoiranisches. *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 36/1.380–413.
- Wærn, Ingrid. 1951. *ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ. The Kenning in Pre-Christian Poetry*. Uppsala.
- Wallace, Robert W. 2003. An Early Fifth-Century Athenian Revolution in Aulos Music. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101.73–92.
- Ward, William H. 1910. *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*. Washington, DC.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1976. The Etymology of Irish *dúan*. *Celtica* 11.270–277.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetry*. New York/Oxford.
- Watkins, Calvert. 2001. A Distant Anatolian Echo in Pindar: The Origin of the Aegis Again. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100.1–14.
- Watkins, Calvert. 2002a. Pindar's Rig Veda. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122.432–435.
- Watkins, Calvert. 2002b. ΕΠΕΩΝ ΘΕΣΙΣ. Poetic Grammar, Word Order and Metrical Structure in the Odes of Pindar. In: Heinrich Hettrich and Jeong-Soo Kim (eds.): *Indogermanische Syntax: Fragen und Perspektiven*, 319–337. Wiesbaden.
- Watkins, Calvert. 2009. The Milk of the Dawn Cows Revisited. In: Kazuhiko Yoshida and Brent Vine (eds.): *East and West: Papers in Indo-European Studies*, 225–239. Bremen.
- Webster, Thomas B.L. 1965. The Andromeda of Euripides. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 12.29–33.
- Weiden, Maria Johanna H. van der (ed. and comm.). 1991. *The Dithyrambs of Pindar*. Amsterdam.
- Weiss, Michael. 1998. Erotica: On the Prehistory of Greek Desire. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 98.31–61.
- Weiss, Michael. 2018. Veneti or Venetes? Observations on a Widespread Indo-European Tribal Name. In: Lucien van Beek, Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michaël Peyrot, Tijmen Pronk, and Michiel de Vaan (eds.): *Farnah. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Sasha Lubotsky*, 349–358. Ann Arbor, MI/New York.
- Weiss, Naomi. 2017. Noise, Music, Speech: The Representation of Lament in Greek Tragedy. *The American Journal of Philology* 138.243–266.
- Welles, Bradford C. 1966. Pindar's Religion and the Twelfth Pythian Ode. *Yale Classical Studies* 19.77–100.

- Wells, James B. 2010. *Pindar's Verbal Art. An Ethnographic Study of Epinician Style*. Cambridge, MA/London. Online: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_WellsJ.Pindars_Verbal_Art.2010 (last accessed August 30, 2023).
- West, Martin L. (ed.). 1966. Hesiod. *Theogony*. Oxford.
- West, Martin L. 1970. Corinna. *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. 20/2.277–287.
- West, Martin L. 1982. *Greek Metre*. Oxford.
- West, Martin L. 1984. New fragments of Ibycus' love songs. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 57.23–32.
- West, Martin L. 1990. Dating Corinna. *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. 40/2.553–557.
- West, Martin L. 1992. *Ancient Greek Music*. Oxford.
- West, Martin L. (ed.). 1993². *Carmina Anacreontea*. Stuttgart.
- West, Martin L. (ed.). 1997. *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Early Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- West, Martin L. (ed. and transl.). 2003a. *Greek Epic Fragments: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge, MA.
- West, Martin L. (ed. and transl.). 2003b. *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*. Cambridge, MA.
- West, Martin L. 2007. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- Westphalen, Tilman. 1967. *Beowulf 3150–3155: Textkritik und Editions-geschichte*. München.
- Wilamowitz[-Moellendorff von], Ulrich F.W. 1893. *Aristoteles und Athen*. 2 vols. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz[-Moellendorff von], Ulrich F.W. 1921 [1958²]. *Griechische Ver-kunst*. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz[-Moellendorff von], Ulrich F.W. 1922. *Pindaros*. Berlin.
- Will, Édouard. 1975. Notes sur ΜΙΣΘΟΣ. In: Jean Bingen, Guy Cambier, and Georges Nachtergaele (eds.): *Le monde grec. Pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, 426–438. Bruxelles.
- Willi, Andreas. 1999. Zur Verwendung und Etymologie von griechisch ἐπί-. *Historische Sprachforschung* 112/1.86–100.
- Willi, Andreas. 2008. *Sikelismos. Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien (8.–5. Jh. V. Chr.)*. Basel.
- Willi, Andreas. 2018 [2021]. *Origins of the Greek Verb*. Oxford.
- Willms, Lothar. 2010. On the IE Etymology of Greek (w)anax. *Glotta* 86.232–271.
- Wilson, Peter. 1999. The Aulos in Athens. In: Simon D. Goldhill and Robert G. Osborne (eds.): *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, 58–95. Cambridge.
- Winiarczyk, Marck (ed.). 1981. *Diagorae Melii et Theodori Cyrenaei reliquiae*. Leipzig.
- Witzel, Michael. 1997. The Development of the Vedic Canon and Its Schools: The Social and Political Milieu. (Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 8). In: Michael Witzel (ed.): *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Vedas: Proceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989*, 257–345. Cambridge, MA.

- Witzel, Micheal. 2004. The R̥gvedic Religious System and its Central Asian and Hindu-kush Antecedents. In: Arlo Griffiths and Jan E.M. Houben (eds.): *The Vedas: Texts Language and Ritual: Proceedings of the Third International Vedic Workshop, Leiden 2002*, 581–636. Groningen.
- Wüst, Walther. 1970. Dichtersprachliche Zusammenhänge zwischen Veda und Pindar. In: Ruth Stiehl and Hans E. Stiehr (eds.): *Festschrift für Franz Altheim. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968*. 2 vols., 80–85. Berlin.
- Wysłucha, Kamila. 2018. *Tibia multifora, multiforabilis, multiforabilis* ... Depictions of a 'Many-holed' Tibia in Written Sources. In: Agnès Garcia-Ventura, Claudia Tavo-lieri, and Lorenzo Verderame (eds.): *The Study of Musical Performance in Antiquity: Archaeology and Written Sources*, 229–248. Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Wysłucha, Kamila. 2019. *Echoes of the Rejection of the Aulos in Augustan Poetry*. *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 7.105–127.
- Wysłucha, Kamila. 2022. 'Tibia oricalco vincta': *orichalcum* (brass) and musical instru-ments at the end of the 1st c. BCE. *Telestes* 2.37–49.
- Wysłucha, Kamila and Stefan Hagel. 2023. The Mouthpiece of the Aulos Revisited. *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 11.1–46.
- Young, David C. 1964. Pindaric Criticism. *Minnesota Review* 4.584–641.
- Young, David C. 1968. *Three Odes of Pindar: A Literary Study of Pythian 11, Pythian 3, and Olympian 7*. Leiden.
- Young, David C. 1970. Pindaric Criticism. In: William M. Calder and Jacob Stern (eds.): *Pindaros und Bakchylides*, 1–95. Darmstadt.
- Zimmer, Heinrich R. 1914. *Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras*. Leipzig.
- Zolotnikova, Olga A. 2016. A hideous monster or a beautiful maiden? Did the West-ern Greeks alter the concept of Gorgon? In: Heather L. Reid and Davide Tanasi (eds.): *Philosopher Kings and Tragic Heroes: Essays on Images and Ideas from Western Greece*, 353–370. Sioux City, IA.
- Zolotnikova, Olga A. 2019. "ГОРГЕИН КЕФАЛН" ("ГОЛОВА ГОРГОНЫ") МИКЕНСКОГО ВРЕМЕНИ ИЗ ДОДОНЫ? *Вестник брянского государственного университета* 1.52–59.

Index of Selected Names, Things, and Collocations

- Acragas IX, 3, 3n2, 5, 5n10, 7, 8, 10, 31–33, 35–37, 39, 177
 Aeolic 22–24, 26
 Andromeda 141, 142, 144, 145, 151, 152
 An̄girasas 102, 103, 108–110, 111n15, 114–117, 128, 135, 138, 140, 151, 152, 162–168, 170, 179
 Apollo 4, 10, 39, 47, 78, 112n20, 150, 157, 158n110
 Arbuda 103, 117, 118, 139, 168, 171, 180
 association–definition xxx
 Athena 3, 10, 11, 15, 17, 20, 21, 42–47, 49–51, 53, 56, 58, 59, 65, 67, 69–72, 76, 86, 87, 89–92, 95, 96, 98, 119n1, 124n19, 143, 153, 154, 156, 157, 164, 167, 170, 171, 173–176, 179, 180, → see also Ἀθήνα(/Ἀθήνη)
 auletic agon/competition 3, 4, 10, 87, 92, 176, 180
 aulos 3n1, 4, 5n10, 11, 16, 21, 40, 41, 46, 47, 52, 68, 70, 73, 74, 76–80, 87, 90, 92, 95, 154n93

base collocation–definition 97
 battle cry 89n11, 92, 152–154, 166
 Br̄haspati 97, 98, 100–105, 108–119, 128, 135, 139, 140, 146–148, 151, 152, 157–164, 166–170, 179, 180
 Bríg 47, 48

 Cacus 147n80, 156
 Ceto 49, 120, 144, → see also κῆτος
 Chrysaor 131n39, 155, → see also Χρυσάωρ
 collocation–definition xxix, xxx
 collocation [GOD–INVENTS–SONG–MULTIPLE-HEADS_{adj./gen.}] 96, 169, 170
 collocation [HERO–DRIVES away–GOODS (cattle, women etc.)] 100, 111, 119, 141, 145, 146, 148, 150–152, 168
 collocation [HERO–KILLS/SPLITS–SERPENT/ENCLOSING ONE] 137–140
 collocation [HERO–KILLS/SPLITS–ENEMY–WEAPON_{instr.}] 160
 comparative method and Comparative Philology xi–xv
 Danae 3, 15, 16, 21, 43, 45, 50, 58, 64, 66, 123n12, 141, 145, 151, → see also Δανάα/Δανάη
 Doric 22–27

 echo 37, 61, 72, 170
 enclosure/to enclose 110, 112–114, 123–127, 130, 134–137, 139, 167
 Euryale 21, 43–46, 51, 62, 65, 69, 71, 85, 86, 89–91, 120, → see also Εὐρύαλα/Εὐρυάλη

 formula–definition 97

 Gelzer's criteria 7, 8
 Geryoneus 147n80, 155, 156, → see also Γερύων/Γερουνεύς
 glory xi, xiv, 9, 10, 17, 33, 40, 45, 73–75, 88, 90, 96n2, 119, 150n87, 156, 170, 172, 174–181
 gnōmē 7, 15n9, 16, 21, 80–84, 174
 Gorgon(s) 3, 11, 15, 17, 21, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49–51, 55, 57, 58, 60–65, 69, 78, 85–87, 89–92, 98–100, 119–124, 126, 129, 130, 130n39, 132, 133, 140, 141, 143–145, 151, 152, 154, 156, 157, 164, 166, 174–176, 180
 gorgoneion 99n9, 119, 130, 130n38, 154n97
 Graeae 62, 63, 65, 120, 121

 [HEADS] 3, 10, 11, 15, 17, 20, 31, 43–45, 55, 58, 60–62, 64, 66, 73, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 96, 98, 99n7, 99n9, 100, 103, 104, 106, 108, 117, 118, 119n1, 120, 121, 130, 132, 133, 135, 139, 140, 141, 143, 146n78, 147, 148n81, 153, 155, 156, 167–172, 176, 180
 Humbaba 99, 100
 hyperbaton 51

 Indra 14, 102–104, 108–110, 113–119, 126, 127, 129n37, 130, 134–140, 146–149, 151, 152, 157, 161–163, 165–168, 170, 171, 179, 180
 Ionic 24, 26, 27

 kenning 35, 39, 41, 57, 80, 112, 123, 124
 Kunstsprache 22–24, 27

- lament(ation) 3, 11, 15, 17, 21, 43–47, 50–52, 55–58, 65, 69, 71, 85, 87, 89, 90, 115, 129ⁿ35, 154, 156, 157, 161, 162, 166, 168, 170, 175, 176
- lizard 131, 132
- Marsyas 46
- Marutas 102ⁿ5, 134, 135, 139ⁿ57, 140, 146, 162, 165–167
- Medusa 3, 15, 17, 21, 43–45, 58–66, 69, 76, 85, 89, 91, 92, 99, 100, 119–122, 124^m9, 126, 130, 131ⁿ39, 131ⁿ40, 132, 133, 140, 141, 143, 144, 147ⁿ80, 152, 153, 155, 166, 170, 171, 174, 180
- meta-aetiology/meta-aetiologic(al) 108, 170, 172, 179, 180
- metaphor XV, XVI, 39, 41, 42, 51–57, 67, 71, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 140, 148ⁿ83, 151, 152, 161, 176, 177ⁿ10
- Midas IX, 3–5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 21, 32, 33, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 73, 78, 82, 101, 170, 173–176, 178–180
- Mischwesen* 132, 140
- mountain 37ⁿ7, 85, 111ⁿ14, 127, 128, 134ⁿ51, 136, 137, 138ⁿ56, 140, 165
- nomos* 4, 10, 20, 43, 45, 50, 71–73, 76–78, 90, 95, 96, 156, 157, 167, 171, 174, 176, 180
- Panī(s) 102, 115, 126, 127, 129, 149, 152, 161, 163, 166, 169
- Pegasus 122, 124^m9, 131ⁿ39, 132ⁿ42, 155
- partial match (*aequabile*)–definition XXIX
- perfect match (*aequatio*)–definition XXIX
- Persephone 34–37, 65, → *see also* Φερσεφόνα
- Perseus X, 3, 15, 16, 20, 21, 43–45, 49–51, 56–60, 62–64, 66, 85ⁿ3, 85ⁿ5, 89, 91, 98–100, 119–123, 124^m9, 126, 130, 132, 133, 140–145, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 166–171, 173–176, 180
- Phorcus 17, 62, 63, 120, 121, 123–126, 130, 132, 155
- Phorcys → *see* Phorcus 49, 120, 124–126
- poetic inspiration 48, 111, 112, 146–147ⁿ78, 151ⁿ88
- Polydectes 3, 15, 21, 43, 44, 63, 64, 141, 174
- pun 37, 66, 68, 85
- quantifier 20, 38
- Rasā 129
- reward XI, 9, 119, 176–181
- ring(-composition) 12–21, 36, 105, 106, 170, 171, 176, 180
- roar 49ⁿ21, 50, 102ⁿ3, 107–110, 113–116, 138, 139, 146ⁿ78, 153, 154, 159, 160, 166, 167, 169, 170
- rocks 102, 108, 109, 120, 126–130, 136, 142, 143ⁿ68, 144, 163, 164, 167
- Sthenno 43, 51, 69, 89–91, 120
- Saramā 102, 129, 163
- seven XVII, 97, 98, 100, 106, 108, 112, 117, 118, 147, 162, 163ⁿ124, 164, 167, 170, 171, 180
- serpent → *see* snake
- shout 51, 58–60, 88, 89, 92, 134, 152–154, 156, 159, 165, 166, 168, 169
- snake, serpent 4, 39, 40, 43, 53, 55, 71–73, 78, 89, 91, 92, 97, 100, 117–119, 124, 130–134, 136, 137, 140, 144–146, 149, 151–153, 165, 168–170, 180
- syrinx* 78, 82, 87, 89
- Θραῖταona 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 168, 169
- thrēnos* 10, 21, 50, 51–53, 55, 71, 89, 90, 92, 164, 174
- toil 3, 16, 17, 20, 21, 57, 81, 82, 174, 180
- Trita Āptya 127, 146, 147, 149ⁿ85, 151, 152, 169
- tune of many heads/many-headed XVII, 3, 10, 11, 15, 20, 43–45, 47, 71, 72, 76, 77, 85–90, 98, 156, 157, 167, 170, 171, 174–176, 179, 180
- Ušijas 102, 112, 135, 140, 161, 162
- Vala X, 98, 100, 102, 103, 106, 108, 110–116, 118, 119, 126–130, 134–140, 145–147, 148ⁿ83, 149, 151, 152, 157, 160–164, 166–171, 179–181
- Vṛtra X, 101, 103, 113, 117, 118, 134–140, 146, 147, 148ⁿ81, 148ⁿ83, 149, 151, 152, 162, 165–169

Index of Selected Words

Greek

- ἀγλαός 34
 ἄγω 16, 21, 59–61, 73, 91, 145, 149, 152, 177
 ἄγων 4η6, 5η12, 6η15, 117, 16, 51, 61, 73–
 76, 78η50, 88, 90, 91, 156, 157, 175, 176,
 178
 Ἀθάνα/Ἀθαναία/Ἀθήνη/Ἀθηναίη 17, 20, 25,
 42, 46, 51, 59, 73, 86, 87, 90, 96, 98, 153,
 175, 180
 αἰτέω 26, 33, 66
 ἄνα (voc.) 37
 ἀνύω 28, 29, 58–60
 ἄρπη 99, 142η67
 αὐλός 5η12, 46, 67, 68, 76, 77, 78η50, 86–88,
 90, 92
 ἄω 24, 28, 29, 51, 57–60, 89, 92, 152–154,
 166, 168
 βοάω 60, 73, 88, 89, 92, 153
 Γηρυονεύς → see Geryon 155, 156η100, 166
 Γηρυών → see Geryon 147η80, 156η100, 166
 γός 17, 50–52, 56, 62, 69, 71, 72, 88, 90, 91,
 154, 164, 166, 168
 δαίμων 17, 20, 21, 81–84, 167, 176
 Δανάα/Δανάη 16, 17, 20, 25, 66, 141η62, 170
 δέχομαι 8η26, 9, 10, 32, 33, 38–40, 42, 175,
 177, 178
 (δια)πλέκω 17, 26, 42, 51, 53, 71, 90, 92, 174,
 175
 δόξα 40, 101, 173, 175, 177–180
 εἰνάλιος 26, 29, 61
 ἔρκος ἄλμας 123, 124, 125η22, 129, 167
 ἔρκος ὀδόντων 123, 124, 128
 εὐδοξος 33, 40, 73, 174, 175, 176η9, 177, 178,
 180
 εὐκλεής 9, 17, 26, 28, 29, 40, 73–75, 90, 156,
 168, 175, 176, 178
 Εὐρυάλα/Εὐρυάλη 17, 25, 69, 72, 85, 88, 90–
 92, 120, 166
 (ἐφ)εὔρίσκω XXIX, 16, 20, 24η9, 45, 48, 51,
 69, 72, 86, 87, 96, 98, 142, 168, 170, 175,
 180
 θείνω 88, 89, 133, 137, 140, 144, 168
 θρήνος 10, 21, 17, 31, 46, 50–53, 55, 56, 71, 89–
 92, 154, 164, 174, 175
 θρήνος πολυκάρηνος 46, 51, 55, 88, 90
 κῆτος → see Ceto and κῆτος 120, 142–144, 151,
 168
 κίβισις 44, 58, 66, 99, 121η7, 142η67
 κλέος XIV, XXIX, 40, 73, 175–177, 178η14, 180
 λαός 61
 λαοσσός 25, 28, 50, 61, 73, 75, 153, 157, 168,
 175, 176
 μέρος 16, 17, 21, 57, 59–61, 68, 83, 152, 166, 168
 Μίδας → see Midas 5η10, 40
 μιμέομαι 10η28, 69–71, 87, 156
 μναστήρ 25, 50, 73–76, 90, 156, 157, 168, 175,
 176, 178
 νόμος κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν → see *nomos kephalān
 pollān* 46
 νόμος πολυκέφαλος 10, 11, 41, 46, 72–74, 86,
 87, 92
 ὀφιώδης 55, 122, 132, 133, 140, 168
 στεφάνωμα 39, 41, 42, 174, 175, 178
 τέκτων 13η5, 14, 53, 67
 τέχνα 10, 17, 25, 33, 41, 43, 71, 87, 92, 174, 175
 ὕμνος 41, 42, 48, 53, 54, 67, 68, 70, 71
 Φερσεφόνα 16, 17, 25, 34–36
 φιλάγλαος 33–35
 Φόρκος, Φόρκυς 17, 26, 62, 120, 123–126, 129,
 130, 167
 Χρόνος, χρόνος 81, 82, 84
 Χρυσάωρ, χρυσάωρ 155, 168

Vedic

aj 111, 113, 117, 118, 135n52, 148, 149, 159, 160, 165, 168

bhed 104, 106, 109, 114, 118, 127, 128, 134n49, 135–140, 146, 160, 163, 165, 171, 180

bīla- 135–137, 140

brāhmaṇas pāti- 102–104, 111, 115, 128, 157, 158

dākṣiṇā- 178–181

dhī- 48, 67, 68, 97, 98, 104, 108, 109, 116, 118, 169, 171

han 117, 118, 127, 133, 135–140, 146n78, 147, 148n84, 160, 165, 167, 168

mūrdhān- 104, 117, 118, 139, 168

padā- 109, 162n123

rod 115, 161, 162, 166, 169

sāman- 54, 158n109, 159

saptāsīrṣan- 97, 98, 104, 108, 118, 169, 171

śrāvas- XIV, XXIX, 73, 178–180

valā- 102n3, 110, 114, 115, 127–130, 135, 136, 138–140, 146, 149, 160, 163, 166–169

*var*₂ 127, 130, 135, 137

ved XXIX, 48, 97, 98, 104, 106, 109, 112, 114, 146n78, 151n88, 160, 170, 180

vrtrā- 118, 135–140, 146, 148n81, 168

IE roots

**b^heh*₂- ‘to shine’ 34n3, 122n10

**b^heh*₂- ‘to clarify’ 62n36

**b^heid-* 134n49, 137, 140

**b^herg^h-* 125

**b^helH-* 156n101

**b^hleh*₂- 158

**b^hreḡ^h-* 158

**deh*₂-i- 83

**dek-* 177

**demh*₂- 37n7

**der-* 128n33, 138

**deuk-* 150

**d^heh*₁- 37n7, 127n37

**d^hers-* 49n22

**gar-* 156, 166

**ḡenh*₁- 59n34, 108

**ḡ^heu*-(d)- 56

**g^uhen-* 35n4, 133, 137, 140, 146, 147, 148n84, 168

**h₁aḡ-* 37n8, 61, 73, 102n4, 145, 148n84, 149, 150, 152, 168

**h₁erk^u-* 114, 159

**h₁erh*₂- 64n38

**h₂enh*₁- 161

**h₃ed-* 132n45

**h₃elh*₁- 50

**h₃reṽ(H)-* 159

**Har-* 67

**kleṽ-* 175

**kelH-* 37n7

**kjeṽ-* 75n48

**k^uer-* 138n56

**k^uend^h-* 57n33

**leg^h-* 64n39

**leuḡ-* 138

**meh*₂- 63

**mel(H)-* 68n43

**men-* 116

**mer-* 38

**mneh*₂- 76, 176

**nem-* 72n47

**neṽH-* 159

**pelh*₁- 46n18

**pelh*₂- 55n28

**plek-* 51n24

**neĩH-* 150
**nes-* 36n7, 79

**sed-* 35, 79
**serk-* 123n13
**seuH-* 66n42
**sh₂e(i)-* 54
**(s)kerp-* 69n44
**sleh₂g^h-* 69n44
**(s)leug-* 63n38
**smer-* 21, 59n34, 61n35, 83
**sreu-* 57

**(s)teg^h-* 41
**(s)tenh₂-* 160
**ten-* 54
**tetk-* 53, 55, 67

**ueb^h-* 54
**ued^h-* 150
**ueg^h-* 150
**uel-* 110, 113, 127, 130, 135, 137, 139
**uen-* 37n8

Index of Authors and Works

Greek

A.R.

4.1513–1517 58
4.1515 88ⁿ9

Ael. Dion.

π 8 46^m18

Aeschl.

Ag.

57 72
282 162^m122
302 49ⁿ21
596 35
870 156^m101
1462 61

Choe.

448 56

Pers.

126 35
474 24ⁿ9
740 84
917 61
947 71

Sept.

84 69
381 154ⁿ93
537 49ⁿ21, 100
835 67

Suppl.

59 24ⁿ9
631 56

TrGF

46–47a 66
158.3 35
262 58, 63, 120
664a.4 35

[Aeschl.]

PV

356 49ⁿ21
791–794 121

Alc.

fr. 350.4 6

Alcm.

fr. 39.1 48
fr. 126 5ⁿ10

Anacr.

fr. 38 79

AP

III 2.1 64

[Apollod.]

1.5.3 119^m1
1.13 79
1.24 46
1.87 133ⁿ47
2.4 49, 58, 142, 144, 145,
151, 168
2.16.2 133ⁿ47
2.34 66
2.36 64
2.5.12 119ⁿ1

Archil.

fr. 105.3 84

Aristoph.

Acharn.

15–16 47
865–866 47

Av.

222 50
858 47

Nub.

447 48

Pax

950–955 47

Thesm.

957 69
1011–1100 141ⁿ64

Vesp.

582 79

Aristot.

Pol.

1341b 46

Athen.

184d	47
617b	40
624b	46
636c	7m46

Ba.

4.14-18	42
4.23	145
5.10	54
5.15	56
6.10	158m11
9.21	73
13.225	33
18.60	33
19.2	56
19.5-8	42-43m6
19.8-9	54
19.51	42m6
29.14	67
29.15	56
fr. 1.4	54
fr. 2	42m6
fr. 3.13	33
fr. 5.3-4	48
fr. 20b.48	42m6
fr. 29.12-14	111m7

Call.*Aet.*

6	79
<i>H</i>	
2.100-101	40n14
5	4n9
fr. 45-47	3n2
fr. 496	61

Calli.

fr. 1.15	61
----------	----

carm. conv.

917b.3	53
--------	----

Cor.

fr. 668	47
fr. 692.2	80
fr. 695a	47

Crit.

81 B 1.1-2	53
------------	----

Cypr.

fr. 32	120, 126, 129
--------	---------------

Diag.

fr. 2	84
-------	----

D.S.

3.54	121n6
5.49.1	46
9.4	66
9.18-19	3n2
11.53.1	3n2

EM

594	85n5
665.50	35

Epich.

fr. 122	61
---------	----

[Erat.]

<i>Cat.</i> 22	121n7
----------------	-------

Et. Gud.

α 157	155
δ 328.23	83
ε 481.19	153

Eur.

<i>Andr.</i>	4n9
--------------	-----

El.

1257	49n21
------	-------

Hel.

177	50
-----	----

Herc.

624	177n10
-----	--------

HF

90	34
253	69
355-356	41

Hipp.

486	34
-----	----

IA

1509	34
------	----

Ion

988-989	120
989	62
1053-1054	119n1

Med.

206-207	60
---------	----

Med. (cont.)

399	64
987	61
<i>TrGF</i>	
100	77
122.4-5	145 ⁿ 74
124.5-6	60, 143 ⁿ 68
125	144
129a	145, 152, 168
228a	66
316-330	66
781.35	35

496	41
827-828	62
855-856	62
907	79
982-983	155 ⁿ 99
fr. 59.2	36
fr. 71	79
fr. 180.3-4	36
fr. 193.13	133, 140
fr. 234.3	61
fr. 357.2	54

[Hes.]

Sc.

Hdn.

<i>De Pros.</i> 3.2	85
<i>Od.</i> 2.132	59

3	157
37	157
54	75 ⁿ 48
161	55
216	66
216-227	49
229	66
229-234	132
230	55
231-233	49

Hdt.

1.14.12	5 ⁿ 10
2.91	120
3.60	150
6.49.3	26
7.61	141 ⁿ 62
9.33	25

Hes.

Op.

284	62
788	34 ⁿ 2

Th.

39-40	57
69	56
83-84	57
96-97	57
237	126
270	65, 126
270-274	62, 144
270-276	120
274	49 ⁿ 21, 129, 167
276	69
277-278	60
278-279	131 ⁿ 40
280	65, 133 ⁿ 46
280-283	155
281-283	122
287	147 ⁿ 80, 156
287-288	155
289-294	155 ⁿ 99
372-373	39 ⁿ 12

HH

2	35
2.82	71
2.272	37 ⁿ 7
2.420	36
2.424	51 ⁿ 23
3	39
3.161	71
3.161-164	70
3.162	70, 71
3.162-164	70
3.163	71
3.164	67, 71
3.373-374	39
3.412	36
4.22-25	112 ⁿ 20
4.79-80	51
4.101	46 ⁿ 18
4.531	83
5.7-30	67
5.12-15	53
5.237	57
19.18	56
22.7	39 ⁿ 13

HH (<i>cont.</i>)		4.508	154 ⁿ 95
25.4–5	57	5.260	51
27.15	79	5.316	123 ^m 5
27.18	56	5.360	35
		5.367	35
Hsch.		5.375	34
α 587	34	5.442	39 ^m 12
α 833 ¹	59	5.604	72
γ 845 ^a	120 ⁿ 4	5.709	25, 80
δ 73	83	5.733–735	53
ε 541 ¹	79	5.738–742	153 ⁿ 91
κ 824	52	5.741	119 ^m 1
κ 2600	99	6.64	75
κ 2766	99 ⁿ 5	6.66	154 ⁿ 95
μ 133	89	6.110	154 ⁿ 95
μ 1887	91	6.488	84
φ 317	35	7.64	124 ^m 17
φ 773	125 ⁿ 21	8.172	154 ⁿ 95
χ 743	69	8.206	126
χ 777	155	8.349	100, 119 ^m 1
		9.14	124 ^m 17
Hipp.		9.22	75
9.404–426	5 ^m 13	9.409	123 ^m 14
		9.493	83
Ib.		10.403	72
S151.47–48	178 ^m 14	11.2	38
S257a.27.3–4	56	11.36	100
		11.285	154 ⁿ 95
Il.		11.365	58
1.12b–21	43	11.461	59
1.23	34	11.462–463	59
1.143	65	12.242	38
1.200	46	13.88	56
1.242	145	13.128	75 ⁿ 48, 157, 176
1.249	57	13.413–414	154
1.367	145	13.445	154 ⁿ 96
1.448	36 ⁿ 7	13.521	153
2.86	75	14.157	126
2.115	75	14.199	38 ⁿ 9
2.408	66	14.319	66
2.825	124 ^m 17	14.319–320	58
2.869	85 ⁿ 3	14.453	154 ⁿ 96
3.101	61	14.478	154 ⁿ 96
3.125–128	53	14.504	67
3.229	123 ^m 15	15.256	155 ⁿ 98
4.105	65	15.346	154 ⁿ 95
4.160–161	84	15.424	154 ⁿ 95
4.164	84	15.461	74
4.299	123 ^m 15	15.485	154 ⁿ 95
4.350	123 ^m 14, 124	15.566–567	125 ⁿ 22

Il. (cont.)

15.567	123m5
15.646	123m5
15.756	50
15.759	50
16.268	154m95
16.342	69
17.183	154m95
17.211	153
17.312	126
17.334	72
17.398	157
17.456	39m13
18.509-540	53
19.229	74
20.48	58, 157
20.48-52	153
20.51	165m126
20.79	157
20.275	76
22.294	154m94
22.393	89
22.395-472	89m10
23.10	50
23.693	124m17
24.527-533	82
24.717-776	52

Ion

fr. 1.5	67
---------	----

Isocr.

<i>Hel.</i> 59.5	66
------------------	----

Luc.

<i>Mar.</i> 14	121m6
<i>Phal.</i> 1 2-4	3m2

Lyc.

843	126m26
-----	--------

Lyr. adesp.

fr. 109b	153
fr. 936.15	56
fr. 995.1-2	54

Melan.

fr. 758	46
---------	----

Men.

<i>Leuk.</i> 6	68
----------------	----

Mimn.

fr. 6.2	61
---------	----

Myth. Vat.

I 130-131	65
II 112	65

Nonn.

D.

13.77-78	85
24.35	87
24.35-38	46, 86
24.36	87
24.37	87, 92
24.37-38	55
24.38	77, 87, 92
30.249 ff.	91
30.264-267	86, 91
30.265	91
30.266	85, 91, 92
30.267	92
36.20	92m12
40.215-218	89
40.215-220	89
40.215-233	86, 88, 90
40.216	89, 92
40.217	89
40.219-220	89
40.224	51, 90, 92
40.224-233	88, 90
40.225	90
40.227	77, 90
40.227-233	85m1
40.228	85m6, 90
40.229	90
40.229-231	73
40.229-233	55
40.230	90
40.231	91
40.232	91
40.233	91

Od.

1.64	123m14, 124m16
1.162	61
3.230	123m14, 124m16

Od. (cont.)

4.84	63
4.443	61
4.728	75
5.22	123 <i>m</i> 4, 124 <i>m</i> 6
5.101	34
5.484	67
5.493	57
8.73–74	54
8.267	65
8.480–481	54
9.132	36
10.118	67
10.328	123 <i>m</i> 4
11.36	119 <i>m</i> 1
11.364	119 <i>m</i> 1
11.581	79
12.128	36
12.318	79
13.96	126, 130, 167
13.96–101	125
14.131	67
15.244	157
16.373	58
19.492	123 <i>m</i> 4, 124 <i>m</i> 6
21.168	123 <i>m</i> 4, 124 <i>m</i> 6
21.397	53
22.210	157, 176
22.210–211	73
22.287	34 <i>n</i> 2
22.348	54
23.70	123 <i>m</i> 4, 124 <i>m</i> 6
24.58–62	52
24.64	38 <i>n</i> 9
24.71	58
24.198	67

Paus.

1.24.1	46
2.7.7	4 <i>n</i> 7
2.21.7	133, 133 <i>n</i> 47
9.35.1	79
9.38.1	79
10.7.2	4 <i>n</i> 5
10.7.4–5	4 <i>n</i> 9, 5, 5 <i>m</i> 12
10.7.6	4 <i>n</i> 8

Phan.

fr. 1.20	125 <i>n</i> 23
----------	-----------------

Pher.

fr. 43	63, 66
fr. 43–44	49, 58
fr. 44	121 <i>n</i> 7, 126 <i>n</i> 26

Phil.

fr. 244*	153
----------	-----

Pi.

<i>O.</i> 1.8–9	42, 43 <i>m</i> 6
<i>O.</i> 1.54	72
<i>O.</i> 1.64–66	38 <i>m</i> 10
<i>O.</i> 1.100–103	42
<i>O.</i> 1.110	48
<i>O.</i> 2	3 <i>n</i> 2, 37
<i>O.</i> 2.17	84
<i>O.</i> 2.74–75	42
<i>O.</i> 2.90	176 <i>n</i> 9
<i>O.</i> 3	3 <i>n</i> 2, 37
<i>O.</i> 3.1	34 <i>m</i> 1
<i>O.</i> 3.4	48
<i>O.</i> 3.5	67
<i>O.</i> 3.6	34
<i>O.</i> 3.10	79
<i>O.</i> 3.34	79
<i>O.</i> 3.41	83
<i>O.</i> 4	7
<i>O.</i> 4.6–8	8 <i>n</i> 26
<i>O.</i> 4.6–10	32
<i>O.</i> 4.9	40
<i>O.</i> 4.9–10	34
<i>O.</i> 4.14	34 <i>m</i> 1
<i>O.</i> 4.16	34 <i>m</i> 1
<i>O.</i> 5	8 <i>n</i> 26, 10
<i>O.</i> 5.1	41
<i>O.</i> 5.1–3	8, 32
<i>O.</i> 5.2	9, 10
<i>O.</i> 5.2–3	39
<i>O.</i> 5.3	42
<i>O.</i> 5.6–9	8 <i>n</i> 26
<i>O.</i> 5.15	174
<i>O.</i> 5.22	83
<i>O.</i> 5.23–24	81
<i>O.</i> 6.19	34 <i>m</i> 1
<i>O.</i> 6.27	39
<i>O.</i> 6.76	74
<i>O.</i> 6.86–87	53
<i>O.</i> 6.98	42
<i>O.</i> 7	66

Pi. (*cont.*)

<i>O.</i> 7.7	56
<i>O.</i> 7.12	68
<i>O.</i> 7.36–37	153
<i>O.</i> 7.43	74, 153
<i>O.</i> 7.76	35
<i>O.</i> 7.94–95	81
<i>O.</i> 8.9–10	8 <i>n</i> 26, 32
<i>O.</i> 8.10	42
<i>O.</i> 8.25	75, 124
<i>O.</i> 8.32	41
<i>O.</i> 9	83
<i>O.</i> 9.46	61
<i>O.</i> 9.76	50
<i>O.</i> 9.80	48
<i>O.</i> 9.99	61
<i>O.</i> 10.16	74
<i>O.</i> 10.55	84
<i>O.</i> 10.84	77
<i>O.</i> 11	7, 8 <i>n</i> 25
<i>O.</i> 11.10	38 <i>n</i> 10
<i>O.</i> 12.1	32
<i>O.</i> 12.1–2	33
<i>O.</i> 12.10–12	84
<i>O.</i> 12.13	34 <i>n</i> 1, 62
<i>O.</i> 13	121, 122, 129, 132
<i>O.</i> 13.23	50
<i>O.</i> 13.29	42
<i>O.</i> 13.31	72
<i>O.</i> 13.63	55, 129, 133, 140
<i>O.</i> 13.63–64	122, 132, 168
<i>O.</i> 13.66	51 <i>n</i> 23
<i>O.</i> 13.71	67
<i>O.</i> 13.115	83
<i>O.</i> 14	32, 33, 80
<i>O.</i> 14.1–4	79
<i>O.</i> 14.2	35, 79
<i>O.</i> 14.18	68 <i>n</i> 43
<i>O.</i> 14.20	75
<i>O.</i> 14.21	35
<i>P.</i> 1.4	67
<i>P.</i> 1.18	124
<i>P.</i> 1.44	65
<i>P.</i> 1.46	82
<i>P.</i> 1.50	41
<i>P.</i> 1.60	48
<i>P.</i> 1.71	33
<i>P.</i> 1.80	42
<i>P.</i> 1.81	54

<i>P.</i> 1.88	80
<i>P.</i> 1.94	34 <i>n</i> 1
<i>P.</i> 1.95	74
<i>P.</i> 1.96	3 <i>n</i> 2
<i>P.</i> 1.100	39
<i>P.</i> 2.2	80
<i>P.</i> 2.7	35
<i>P.</i> 2.62	75
<i>P.</i> 2.65	75 <i>n</i> 48
<i>P.</i> 2.79	61
<i>P.</i> 2.89	74
<i>P.</i> 2.95	83
<i>P.</i> 3	13 <i>n</i> 5
<i>P.</i> 3.8–46	43
<i>P.</i> 3.13	42
<i>P.</i> 3.17	68
<i>P.</i> 3.30	38
<i>P.</i> 3.41	63
<i>P.</i> 3.47	66
<i>P.</i> 3.81	38 <i>n</i> 10
<i>P.</i> 3.99	64
<i>P.</i> 3.113–114	53, 67
<i>P.</i> 3.115	83
<i>P.</i> 4.1	67
<i>P.</i> 4.13	39 <i>n</i> 11
<i>P.</i> 4.15	68 <i>n</i> 43
<i>P.</i> 4.27	61
<i>P.</i> 4.39	70
<i>P.</i> 4.46	36
<i>P.</i> 4.51	64
<i>P.</i> 4.56	80
<i>P.</i> 4.60	66
<i>P.</i> 4.61	59
<i>P.</i> 4.65	60
<i>P.</i> 4.71	62
<i>P.</i> 4.73	74
<i>P.</i> 4.176	158 <i>n</i> 112
<i>P.</i> 4.178	174
<i>P.</i> 4.204	61, 80
<i>P.</i> 4.243	69
<i>P.</i> 4.249	133 <i>n</i> 48, 144
<i>P.</i> 4.262	48
<i>P.</i> 4.299	56
<i>P.</i> 5.3	72
<i>P.</i> 5.22	42
<i>P.</i> 5.31	42
<i>P.</i> 5.47	174
<i>P.</i> 5.55	84
<i>P.</i> 5.100	56

Pi. (cont.)

<i>P. 5.117</i>	83
<i>P. 5.123</i>	67
<i>P. 6</i>	3 <i>n</i> 2, 7, 37
<i>P. 6.36</i>	60
<i>P. 7</i>	7
<i>P. 7.20–22</i>	81
<i>P. 7.22</i>	84
<i>P. 8</i>	13 <i>n</i> 4, 83
<i>P. 8.1</i>	34 <i>n</i> 1
<i>P. 8.1–2</i>	32
<i>P. 8.1–4</i>	32
<i>P. 8.3–4</i>	32
<i>P. 8.19</i>	39, 40
<i>P. 8.56–57</i>	42
<i>P. 8.62</i>	74
<i>P. 8.76–78</i>	84
<i>P. 9.4</i>	41
<i>P. 9.10</i>	150
<i>P. 9.17</i>	65
<i>P. 9.40</i>	38
<i>P. 9.44</i>	37
<i>P. 9.56</i>	9, 74
<i>P. 9.56–57</i>	8, 9
<i>P. 9.57</i>	10
<i>P. 9.64</i>	67
<i>P. 9.69</i>	34
<i>P. 9.73</i>	38, 40
<i>P. 9.73–75</i>	177
<i>P. 9.77–78</i>	53 <i>n</i> 25
<i>P. 9.88</i>	74
<i>P. 9.118</i>	83
<i>P. 9.122–123</i>	150
<i>P. 9.125</i>	39
<i>P. 10</i>	13 <i>n</i> 4, 49, 58, 86, 91, 121, 132
<i>P. 10.31</i>	45
<i>P. 10.44–48</i>	58
<i>P. 10.45</i>	49, 51, 66, 168
<i>P. 10.46</i>	133, 140
<i>P. 10.46–48</i>	60
<i>P. 10.46–47</i>	92, 133
<i>P. 10.46–48</i>	141 <i>n</i> 59
<i>P. 10.47–48</i>	61, 126
<i>P. 10.48</i>	91, 130, 167
<i>P. 10.56</i>	56
<i>P. 10.58–59</i>	68 <i>n</i> 43
<i>P. 10.59</i>	68 <i>n</i> 43
<i>P. 11</i>	66

<i>P. 11.1–10</i>	32
<i>P. 11.18</i>	57
<i>P. 11.24</i>	64
<i>P. 11.40</i>	61
<i>P. 11.50</i>	41
<i>P. 12.1</i>	16, 17, 25, 32, 33, 34, 36
<i>P. 12.1–2</i>	79
<i>P. 12.1–3</i>	10
<i>P. 12.1–4</i>	20
<i>P. 12.1–6</i>	3, 9, 32
<i>P. 12.2</i>	16, 17, 25, 28, 34–37
<i>P. 12.2</i>	16, 17, 24, 25, 28, 34– 37
<i>P. 12.2–3</i>	17, 32, 36
<i>P. 12.3</i>	16, 17, 25, 28, 36, 37, 39 <i>n</i> 13, 59, 79
<i>P. 12.4</i>	10, 16, 17, 20, 25, 28, 32, 38–40
<i>P. 12.4–5</i>	39
<i>P. 12.5</i>	10, 17, 32, 33, 39–41, 46, 174, 175, 177
<i>P. 12.5–6</i>	32
<i>P. 12.5–8</i>	42, 175
<i>P. 12.6</i>	11, 17, 25, 26, 32, 33, 40, 41, 45, 71, 87, 92
<i>P. 12.6–7</i>	43
<i>P. 12.6–8</i>	10, 11, 43
<i>P. 12.6–10</i>	20
<i>P. 12.6–27</i>	15 <i>n</i> 9
<i>P. 12.7</i>	16, 17, 20, 24 <i>n</i> 9, 25, 45–51, 72, 87, 92, 95, 109, 170
<i>P. 12.7–8</i>	17, 20, 43, 45, 156
<i>P. 12.7–10</i>	43
<i>P. 12.8</i>	17, 25, 26, 28, 42, 50– 52, 71, 87, 90, 154, 174
<i>P. 12.9</i>	16, 17, 20, 25, 49, 55, 87, 91, 133, 170
<i>P. 12.9–10</i>	44
<i>P. 12.10</i>	16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 56–58, 90, 174
<i>P. 12.11</i>	16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 44, 51, 58–61, 68, 83, 89, 92, 121, 152, 154, 166, 168, 170
<i>P. 12.11–12</i>	44, 63
<i>P. 12.11–16</i>	44

Pi. (*cont.*)

<i>P.</i> 12.11–18	43	<i>P.</i> 12.28–29	81, 82
<i>P.</i> 12.12	16, 21, 24, 26, 29, 60, 61, 73, 91	<i>P.</i> 12.28–30	20, 82, 176
<i>P.</i> 12.13	17, 24, 26, 29, 44, 62, 63, 124, 145	<i>P.</i> 12.28–32	1579, 80–84, 174
<i>P.</i> 12.13–15	44	<i>P.</i> 12.29	8, 25, 26, 81–83
<i>P.</i> 12.13–16	63	<i>P.</i> 12.29–30	81, 82
<i>P.</i> 12.14	24, 25, 63, 64	<i>P.</i> 12.29–32	81, 84
<i>P.</i> 12.14–15	44, 64, 151	<i>P.</i> 12.30	16, 17, 21, 25, 29, 81– 84
<i>P.</i> 12.15	25	<i>P.</i> 12.30–31	81, 83, 84
<i>P.</i> 12.16	17, 20, 24–26, 44, 45, 64–66, 87, 171	<i>P.</i> 12.31	21, 84
<i>P.</i> 12.17	16, 17, 20, 24, 25, 44, 66, 72, 170	<i>P.</i> 12.31–32	81
<i>P.</i> 12.17–18	1579, 20, 66	<i>P.</i> 12.32	21, 25, 84
<i>P.</i> 12.18	16, 17, 20, 26, 44, 66, 67, 174	<i>N.</i> 1	1374
<i>P.</i> 12.18–19	67, 89–90	<i>N.</i> 1.14	35
<i>P.</i> 12.18–23	43, 44	<i>N.</i> 1.70	174
<i>P.</i> 12.19	16, 17, 20, 24, 53, 67, 68, 71, 72, 87, 90	<i>N.</i> 2	7
<i>P.</i> 12.19–21	70	<i>N.</i> 2.2	54
<i>P.</i> 12.19–23	20, 44	<i>N.</i> 3.1	37
<i>P.</i> 12.20	25, 69, 72, 90	<i>N.</i> 3.1–3	32, 33
<i>P.</i> 12.20–21	17, 168	<i>N.</i> 3.1–13	14
<i>P.</i> 12.21	10728, 25, 50, 69–72, 87, 90, 91, 154, 156, 164, 166	<i>N.</i> 3.4	67
<i>P.</i> 12.22	16, 17, 20, 24–26, 29, 45, 72, 87, 170, 174	<i>N.</i> 3.4–5	14
<i>P.</i> 12.22–23	XVII, 96–98	<i>N.</i> 3.5	15
<i>P.</i> 12.22–24	11, 156, 168, 175	<i>N.</i> 3.50	51
<i>P.</i> 12.23	16, 17, 20, 24, 25, 72– 73, 87, 156, 170	<i>N.</i> 3.76–84	14
<i>P.</i> 12.23–27	87	<i>N.</i> 3.78	14
<i>P.</i> 12.24	16, 17, 25, 26, 28, 29, 40, 45, 50, 61, 73–76, 90, 156, 157, 167, 175, 176, 178	<i>N.</i> 3.80–81	14
<i>P.</i> 12.25	24, 29, 76–79, 87	<i>N.</i> 3.81	15
<i>P.</i> 12.25–27	76	<i>N.</i> 4.11	40
<i>P.</i> 12.26	16, 17, 25, 26, 36, 76, 79–80	<i>N.</i> 4.11–12	8, 9, 35
<i>P.</i> 12.26–28	20	<i>N.</i> 4.44–45	53, 54
<i>P.</i> 12.26–27	17	<i>N.</i> 4.94	53
<i>P.</i> 12.27	25, 80	<i>N.</i> 5.15	74
<i>P.</i> 12.28	16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 81–82, 174	<i>N.</i> 5.37	79
		<i>N.</i> 5.38	38, 40, 77
		<i>N.</i> 5.53–54	42
		<i>N.</i> 5.54	41, 42716
		<i>N.</i> 6.1	38710
		<i>N.</i> 6.24	174
		<i>N.</i> 6.29	74
		<i>N.</i> 6.41	80
		<i>N.</i> 6.44–45	82
		<i>N.</i> 6.46	74
		<i>N.</i> 6.54	48
		<i>N.</i> 6.61	80
		<i>N.</i> 7.1–4	32
		<i>N.</i> 7.9	3471
		<i>N.</i> 7.12	57
		<i>N.</i> 7.46	75

Pi. (cont.)

<i>N. 7.62</i>	67, 150	<i>I. 5.6</i>	37
<i>N. 7.63</i>	177	<i>I. 5.27</i>	68
<i>N. 7.71</i>	65	<i>I. 5.42</i>	36
<i>N. 7.77</i>	42	<i>I. 5.52</i>	84
<i>N. 7.98–99</i>	51	<i>I. 5.62–63</i>	42
<i>N. 7.99</i>	51	<i>I. 6.4</i>	39
<i>N. 7.105</i>	83	<i>I. 6.10–12</i>	82
<i>N. 8.15</i>	53 <i>n</i> 25	<i>I. 6.18</i>	67
<i>N. 8.42</i>	67	<i>I. 6.44</i>	62
<i>N. 8.45</i>	83	<i>I. 6.74</i>	56
<i>N. 8.50</i>	174	<i>I. 7</i>	32
<i>N. 9.7</i>	62	<i>I. 7.5–7</i>	66
<i>N. 9.22</i>	36	<i>I. 7.19</i>	57
<i>N. 9.23</i>	75	<i>I. 7.37</i>	57
<i>N. 9.30</i>	33	<i>I. 7.39</i>	42
<i>N. 9.32</i>	34 <i>m</i> 1	<i>I. 7.44</i>	35
<i>N. 9.53</i>	42	<i>I. 7.48</i>	83
<i>N. 10.4</i>	58	<i>I. 7.49–51</i>	42
<i>N. 10.19</i>	80 <i>n</i> 51	<i>I. 7.51</i>	75, 177
<i>N. 10.24</i>	174	<i>I. 8.1</i>	174, 176 <i>n</i> 9
<i>N. 10.25</i>	41	<i>I. 8.20</i>	34 <i>m</i> 1
<i>N. 10.49</i>	80 <i>n</i> 51	<i>I. 8.31</i>	62
<i>N. 10.54</i>	38 <i>m</i> 10	<i>I. 8.55</i>	35
<i>N. 10.77</i>	57	<i>I. 8.58</i>	56
<i>N. 11</i>	9, 10	<i>I. 8.66a–67</i>	42
<i>N. 11.1–3</i>	9	<i>fr. 10</i>	76
<i>N. 11.1–5</i>	32	<i>fr. 19</i>	76
<i>N. 11.3</i>	10, 40	<i>fr. 33</i>	84
<i>I. 1.4</i>	56	<i>fr. 52b.100</i>	76
<i>I. 1.8</i>	66	<i>fr. 52b.103</i>	74
<i>I. 1.9</i>	75, 124	<i>fr. 52c.12</i>	53, 55
<i>I. 1.13</i>	155 <i>n</i> 99	<i>fr. 52c.94</i>	76
<i>I. 1.16</i>	67, 68	<i>fr. 52d.11</i>	84
<i>I. 1.34</i>	74	<i>fr. 52d.12</i>	74
<i>I. 1.47–51</i>	177	<i>fr. 52d.45</i>	74
<i>I. 1.48</i>	36	<i>fr. 52d.53</i>	57
<i>I. 1.51</i>	42	<i>fr. 52e.45</i>	39
<i>I. 1.68</i>	83	<i>fr. 52f.1–6</i>	33
<i>I. 2</i>	3 <i>n</i> 2, 37	<i>fr. 52f.129</i>	42
<i>I. 2.6</i>	34 <i>m</i> 1	<i>fr. 52g.1</i>	62
<i>I. 2.15</i>	41	<i>fr. 52h.4</i>	51
<i>I. 2.24</i>	34 <i>m</i> 1	<i>fr. 52i.36</i>	77
<i>I. 3/4.1</i>	73	<i>fr. 52i.66</i>	53
<i>I. 3/4.17–18</i>	81	<i>fr. 52m.15</i>	34
<i>I. 3/4.11</i>	39	<i>fr. 52s.2</i>	80 <i>n</i> 51
<i>I. 3/4.44</i>	41	<i>fr. 70</i>	80
<i>I. 3/4.57</i>	62	<i>fr. 70.3</i>	77
<i>I. 3/4.61</i>	41	<i>fr. 70a</i>	58
		<i>fr. 70a.5</i>	49

Pi. (cont.)

fr. 70a.15–17	62, 123, 167
fr. 70a.16	123 <i>m</i> 12, 124
fr. 70a.16–17	124, 125 <i>n</i> 22, 129
fr. 70b.1	54
fr. 70b.10–20	154 <i>n</i> 93
fr. 70b.15	91
fr. 70b.17–18	153
fr. 70b.18	71
fr. 70c.7	42
fr. 70d.9	85 <i>n</i> 2
fr. 70d.9	121
fr. 70d.15	64
fr. 70d.37–39	49
fr. 70d.39–41	58, 61, 126, 141 <i>n</i> 59
fr. 75.10	72
fr. 93.1–2	55
fr. 94b.10–12	55
fr. 94b.13–15	70
fr. 94b.38	74
fr. 94b.76	56
fr. 94c.1	158 <i>m</i> 110
fr. 107a	70
fr. 122.14	48
fr. 123.10–11	56
fr. 125	48
fr. 128c.11–12	155
fr. 128d.14	34 <i>n</i> 1
fr. 133.1	57
fr. 140b.5	37 <i>n</i> 7
fr. 152	67
fr. 155.3	33
fr. 157	72
fr. 159	84
fr. 164	34 <i>n</i> 1
fr. 169.2	38
fr. 169a.6–8	147 <i>n</i> 80
fr. 179	53, 54
fr. 194.6	38
fr. 205	XXX
fr. 210	34 <i>n</i> 1
fr. 224	39
fr. 236	34 <i>n</i> 1
fr. 246a	53
fr. 282	83
fr. 284	64 <i>n</i> 40
fr. 333a.7	41
fr. 337.5	42
fr. 350	66

Pl.

<i>Crat.</i>	
398b	83
406d–407a	46 <i>n</i> 18
<i>Leg.</i>	
653d	158 <i>m</i> 110
669de	70 <i>n</i> 45
800e.1–3	52
<i>Rep.</i>	
375a	156 <i>m</i> 101
375e	156 <i>m</i> 101

Plut.

<i>De cohib. ir.</i>	
456b	46
<i>De def. or.</i>	
421c	4 <i>n</i> 7
<i>Pelop.</i>	
19	47
<i>Quaest.</i>	
638b	7 <i>n</i> 23

[Plut.]

<i>Mus.</i>	
1132f.	46
1133	157 <i>m</i> 104
1133de	72
1133d–f	46
1134a	4 <i>n</i> 9
1136b	47
1138a	78 <i>n</i> 50
1143	157 <i>m</i> 104

Pol.

9.27	3 <i>n</i> 2
12.25	3 <i>n</i> 2
Pollux	4 <i>n</i> 9

Polyaen.

<i>Strat.</i> 3.5	5 <i>n</i> 13
<i>Strat.</i> 6.51	3 <i>n</i> 2

Pos.

<i>E.</i> 136.3	33
-----------------	----

Pra.

fr. 713	72
---------	----

Q.s.

14.421	153 <i>n</i> 91
--------	-----------------

Sapph.

fr. 1.1–3	32
fr. 1.5	32
fr. 1.16	32
fr. 55.4	63
fr. 125	42
fr. 188	53
fr. 194	53
fr. 195	54

Scholia in Homer (Σ)

<i>Il.</i> 14.319	64n40
<i>Od.</i> 13.96	125n20

Scholia in Pi. (Σ)

<i>O.</i> 2.15d	35
<i>O.</i> 5.1b	41
<i>O.</i> 6.124b	73
<i>O.</i> 6.161g.2	35
<i>O.</i> 8.66	8n26
<i>O.</i> 9.70d	61
<i>O.</i> 14 <i>inscr.</i> c	79
<i>P. hypoth.</i>	4n4, 4n5, 4n6, 5n3, 6
<i>P.</i> 1.157d	54
<i>P.</i> 3.137b	47
<i>P.</i> 9.31	65
<i>P.</i> 10.72a	64
<i>P.</i> 10.72b	121n8
<i>P.</i> 12 <i>inscr.</i>	5, 7n21, 78, 82, 174
<i>P.</i> 12.1a	33
<i>P.</i> 12.1ab	33
<i>P.</i> 12.5 <i>prae</i> 8	41
<i>P.</i> 12.7	41
<i>P.</i> 12.12a	41, 87, 92
<i>P.</i> 12.12ab	49
<i>P.</i> 12.15	60
<i>P.</i> 12.15a	55
<i>P.</i> 12.15ab	92
<i>P.</i> 12.18	57
<i>P.</i> 12.19a	60
<i>P.</i> 12.19b	58
<i>P.</i> 12.21	61
<i>P.</i> 12.23	62
<i>P.</i> 12.24a	62
<i>P.</i> 12.24b	62, 65
<i>P.</i> 12.24c	62
<i>P.</i> 12.24d	62
<i>P.</i> 12.24e	63
<i>P.</i> 12.25a	64

<i>P.</i> 12.35a	65
<i>P.</i> 12.39a	73
<i>P.</i> 12.39b	73
<i>P.</i> 12.39c	73
<i>P.</i> 12.42	157
<i>P.</i> 12.42	73
<i>P.</i> 12.44a	79
<i>P.</i> 12.44b	79
<i>P.</i> 12.45ab	79
<i>P.</i> 12.51	83
<i>P.</i> 12.51–52	82, 83
<i>P.</i> 12.52	7n21, 82
<i>P.</i> 12.54	82
<i>P.</i> 12.54b	7n21
<i>N.</i> 1.17	35
<i>I.</i> 2.1a	76

Simon.

fr. 20.8	57
fr. 38	66
fr. 577a	56
fr. 595.3–4	67
FrGH 1a.8.F 6	42

Sol.

fr. 20.4	61
----------	----

Soph.

<i>Ant.</i>	
1	61
950	66
1117	63
1134	56

El.

684–700	7n24
---------	------

OC

472	41
-----	----

TrGF

165–170	66
---------	----

Steph. Byz.

<i>Ethn.</i>	
p. 62.15	37
p. 459	85n7

Stes.

fr. 5	147n80
fr. 173.2	48

Strabo

9.2.8	80
9.2.40	79
9.3.10	475
11.7.1	127n28

Suid.

ἐλεγχος	40
Μυκάλη	85–86
Πίνδαρος	47

Tel.

fr. 805–806	46
fr. 806.3–4	53

Theocr.

26.20	85n4
-------	------

Theogn.

340	61
-----	----

Latin**Apul.**

<i>Florid.</i> 1.3	46
--------------------	----

Cic.

<i>Cael.</i> 18	55
<i>Verr.</i> II 4.33.73	3n2
<i>Verr.</i> IV 56.124	65

Front.

<i>Strat.</i> 3.7.6	5n3
---------------------	-----

Hor.

<i>Ars</i> 202–204	77
--------------------	----

Hyg.**Astr.**

2.12	121n6, 121n7
------	--------------

Fab.

praef.	79
6	80
63.5	64
165	46

Theophr.

<i>Hist. Pl.</i> 4.11	77, 80
-----------------------	--------

Thuc.

6.4.4	3n2
-------	-----

Tim.

fr. 28	3n2
--------	-----

Trag. adesp.

<i>TrGF</i> I 5	66
<i>TrGF</i> II 381	46

Tyrt.

fr. 7.2	61
---------	----

Tzet.

Σ Lyc. 838	64, 66
<i>Vita Ambr.</i>	47

Ov.**F.**

1.569–572	156
6.697–706	46

Met.

4.607 ff.	66
4.673–675	144n70
4.714–715	145
4.793	65
11.116–117	66

Pli.**HN**

III 9.56	66
V 14.69	144
VII 204	40
XXXIV 57	46

Serv.

<i>Aen.</i> 6.289	65
-------------------	----

Verg.

<i>Aen.</i> 5.233	56
-------------------	----

Avestan

Y

9.7ch-8a	147 <i>n</i> 79
9.8	133, 147, 152
9.16	37 <i>n</i> 7
29.4	38
29.7b	68
53.5	150
58.8	68

Yt

5.34	149, 150, 152, 168
14.38e	146 <i>n</i> 75
14.40	146 <i>n</i> 75, 147, 168
44.20	161, 162, 167

Vr.

3.3	39 <i>n</i> 13
-----	----------------

Old Indic

AVŚ

5.23.13ab	134 <i>n</i> 49
-----------	-----------------

MBh.

12.279.1cd	56
MS	150

Nigh.

1.10	134 <i>n</i> 51
------	-----------------

RV

1.10.7c	127 <i>n</i> 29
1.11	135
1.11.5ab	136
1.16.8c	134
1.18.2a	118
1.18.2b	109
1.18.3	102 <i>n</i> 2
1.18.7d	110 <i>n</i> 13
1.19.4	165 <i>n</i> 127
1.32	117, 135
1.32.1c	133, 137, 140
1.32.1cd	136
1.32.2a	136
1.32.2c	168
1.32.2cd	148
1.32.4ac	148 <i>n</i> 83
1.32.5a	137, 168
1.32.11	152
1.32.11ab	148 <i>n</i> 82, 149
1.32.11cd	135
1.32.12cd	148 <i>n</i> 82
1.35.2b	38
1.36.2c	39 <i>n</i> 13
1.37.12b	76

1.40.1-2	102 <i>n</i> 5
1.40.4ab	178
1.40.4-6	102 <i>n</i> 2
1.49.2c	40 <i>n</i> 15
1.51.6c	118
1.52.5cd	127, 146
1.52.5d	130
1.52.10cd	138, 139, 168
1.54.10b	136 <i>n</i> 53
1.56.6d	139 <i>n</i> 58
1.61	52
1.61.4ab	53
1.61.8	53
1.61.10cd	148 <i>n</i> 82
1.62.3	102, 163
1.62.4d	115, 138
1.62.13b	67
1.71.2a	108
1.78.5	111 <i>n</i> 17
1.80.11d	135
1.85.2	165 <i>n</i> 127
1.85.10	165
1.91.11b	48
1.92.9	48
1.109.1d	67
1.112.11a	37 <i>n</i> 8
1.125.6	178
1.132.4bc	127 <i>n</i> 29
1.161.6b	117
1.166.7	165 <i>n</i> 127
1.187.1cd	146
1.190.1	110, 158 <i>n</i> 10
1.190.1a	159
1.190.1ab	116
1.190.1c	110

RV (<i>cont.</i>)		2.30.4	102n2
1.190.3d	110	2.30.9	102n2
1.190.4ab	110n13	3.5.1d	113
1.190.4c	110	3.11.2cd	68
1.190.7	110	3.12.6b	149n86
2.11.18ab	138	3.14.4	165n127
2.11.20ab	118	3.26.2d	158m108
2.11.20d	114, 135, 138–140, 168	3.26.9	57
2.12.3	148n84	3.30.10ab	127, 130, 167
2.12.7d	150	3.31.5b	162n121
2.12.9d	102n5	3.45.2a	134
2.14.3	148n84	3.45.2ab	149
2.14.3b	135n52	3.45.2b	168
2.14.4c	118	3.53.7b	109
2.15.8	127n32	3.57.1a	48
2.15.8a	163	3.62.6	117
2.15.8ac	127	4.1.13c	127n29
2.19.8ab	68	4.1.15d	127n29
2.23.1ac	102n3	4.1.15–16ab	112
2.23.1b	158m108	4.1.16	151n88
2.23.1–2	158	4.2.15	108
2.23.2d	108	4.2.15ac	162n121
2.23.3bd	113	4.2.15cd	164
2.23.3d	109	4.16.3c	162n121
2.23.4–17	102n2	4.16.6d	127n29
2.23.13ab	116	4.16.8a	128n33
2.23.18c	103	4.17.3ac	136
2.23.18cd	113	4.17.7cd	136
2.23.18d	148	4.18.6d	115n24
2.23.19ab	110, 158m110	4.20.6c	127n29
2.24	111n17	4.20.8b	127n29
2.24.2b	115n24	4.40.1d	164n125
2.24.2c	103n5	4.49	102n5
2.24.2d	111n14	4.50.1ab	110, 159
2.24.3c	111, 114n23, 149, 160, 168	4.50.1d	159
2.24.3d	113	4.50.2a	110n12
2.24.4a	130	4.50.3ab	109n11
2.24.4ab	111, 128	4.50.3cd	111n18
2.24.5	113n21	4.50.4c	164
2.24.7a	109n11	4.50.4cd	108, 113, 160n116
2.24.8a	109n11	4.50.4d	164
2.24.9	111n14	4.50.5ab	102n3
2.24.12cd	103n6	4.50.5b	115n24, 139, 160
2.24.13	111n14	4.50.5cd	111, 159
2.24.16ab	110	4.50.6a	108
2.25	102n2	4.50.10–11	102n5
2.26	102n2	4.51.2cd	113
2.26.2b	39n13	4.56.1	116
		5.2.11b	68

RV (<i>cont.</i>)		7.10.1.1b	67
5.29.2	165, 167	8.3.19cd	118
5.30.5d	149n86	8.6.6	139n57, 171n129
5.30.5d-6ab	165	8.6.13	139
5.45.1	113	8.6.37a	139n58
5.52.1	165n127	8.7.24	146
5.57.5	165n127	8.19.12d	48
5.60.8	165n127	8.29.10	165n127
6.15.8	38	8.32.3ab	118
6.17.6cd	110	8.32.5a	127n29
6.18.5	110	8.32.26c	118
6.18.5ac	138	8.76.2	139n57, 171n129
6.18.5bc	135, 168	8.76.2ab	135
6.18.5c	103n5	8.76.3a	135
6.18.5d	127, 130	8.96.15d	103
6.22.2b	162n121	8.96.18d	149n86
6.30.4c	138n56	9.10.6	111
6.30.5b	138n56	9.24.2	148n81
6.31.5	110	9.41.6	129n36
6.32.1d	68	9.74.3d	150
6.39.2a	128	9.80.1c	160n116
6.39.2c	138	9.103.4	158n110
6.47.20cd	179n15	10.8.8b	146n75
6.61.2	116	10.8.8cd	147
6.70.5b	67	10.8.8d	147
6.73.1a	140	10.8.9	146n78
6.73.1ab	114, 164n125	10.13.4c	158n108
6.73.1c	108	10.28.7d	127n29
6.73.1cd	160	10.36.5b	158n109, 159
6.73.1d	110, 116n25	10.45.11d	127n29
6.73.2c	115n24, 118	10.47.6	164
6.73.2d	116	10.47.6c	164n125
6.73.3a	111, 148, 168	10.49.6b	139n58
6.73.3b	127n29	10.50.4c	76
6.73.3c	114	10.53.10cd	109
6.73.3d	118, 160	10.62.2a	108
7.7.6b	68	10.62.5	108
7.9.2	110	10.62.7	179
7.19.1b	76	10.63.7ab	163n124
7.34.16-17	40n14	10.64.4a	158n108, 159
7.35.9	165n127	10.64.4ab	159n113
7.87.4cd	109	10.64.12	111
7.97.1	102n2	10.64.16a	158n108, 159
7.97.2-4	102n2	10.64.16c	158n108
7.97.3	103n6	10.67	X, XVI, XVII, 15, 96-
7.97.5c	159		98, 100-105, 108, 110,
7.97.5cd	159n113		119, 160, 161, 163, 166,
7.97.9	102n2		167, 168, 171, 172, 179,
7.98.4d	73		180

RV (cont.)		10.67.8c	104, 115
10.67.1	108, 115, 169, 180	10.67.8d	104, 111, 116
10.67.1a	104, 106, 108, 109, 116, 118, 164, 171	10.67.9	116
10.67.1ab	97, 98, 114, 170	10.67.9a	104, 116, 117
10.67.1b	104, 106, 108, 109, 116	10.67.9ab	159
10.67.1c	104, 108	10.67.9b	104, 115–117
10.67.1d	104, 109	10.67.9c	104, 115–117
10.67.2	109	10.67.9d	116, 117
10.67.2a	104, 108, 109, 116	10.67.10	116
10.67.2b	109	10.67.10a	116, 117
10.67.2c	109	10.67.10b	104, 115, 117
10.67.2cd	162 <i>m</i> 123	10.67.10c	104, 115, 117
10.67.2d	104, 109, 116	10.67.10d	117
10.67.3	109, 116, 159 <i>m</i> 115, 163, 167, 169	10.67.11	115, 117
10.67.3a	104, 109, 110, 115, 164	10.67.11a	104, 117
10.67.3b	110, 115	10.67.11b	117
10.67.3c	104, 109	10.67.11c	117
10.67.3d	109, 110, 164, 166	10.67.11d	117
10.67.4	110	10.67.12	115, 117, 170, 171 <i>m</i> 128, 180
10.67.4a	104	10.67.12a	104, 115
10.67.4ab	110	10.67.12ab	118
10.67.4b	110, 115	10.67.12b	104, 106, 117, 118, 139, 171
10.67.4c	104, 112	10.67.12c	117
10.67.4d	104, 106, 111, 113, 116	10.67.12d	117, 118
10.67.4–5	148 <i>n</i> 83	10.68	111 <i>m</i> 14, 161
10.67.5	103, 106, 114, 118, 180	10.68.1ab	110
10.67.5a	104, 106, 114, 171	10.68.2	111 <i>m</i> 15, 151, 168
10.67.5b	114, 115	10.68.2a	164 <i>m</i> 125
10.67.5c	104, 114	10.68.2c	152
10.67.5cd	109	10.68.4	114
10.67.5d	104, 106, 114, 116, 160, 170	10.68.5ab	113
10.67.6a	104	10.68.6	114 <i>n</i> 23, 128
10.67.6	114, 169, 170	10.68.6ab	114
10.67.6a	104, 114, 115, 117, 129	10.68.7ab	112
10.67.6ab	138 <i>n</i> 56, 166	10.68.7cd	114 <i>n</i> 23
10.67.6b	104, 106, 114	10.68.7d	111
10.67.6c	104, 114, 115	10.68.8	160 <i>m</i> 116
10.67.6d	111, 115, 161, 166, 169	10.68.8ab	111 <i>m</i> 18
10.67.7	115	10.68.9	113 <i>n</i> 22, 148 <i>n</i> 83, 159 <i>m</i> 114
10.67.7a	104, 115, 117	10.68.9ab	109
10.67.7b	104, 106, 115, 129	10.68.10	129 <i>n</i> 35
10.67.7c	104, 115, 116	10.68.10ab	115, 161
10.67.7d	104, 106	10.68.11d	109
10.67.8	116	10.68.12ac	159
10.67.8a	104, 116, 129	10.85.26a	150
10.67.8b	104, 115, 116	10.89.7	136 <i>n</i> 54

RV (<i>cont.</i>)		10.144.2ab	14
10.99.6	146 <i>n</i> 78	10.144.2c	14
10.103.4	102 <i>n</i> 2	10.144.5a	14
10.107.7ab	178	10.149.5b	164 <i>n</i> 125
10.108	102, 129 <i>n</i> 37	10.152.3ab	139 <i>n</i> 58
10.108.1	129	10.155.2–3	102 <i>n</i> 2
10.108.1d	129, 167	10.164.4c	164 <i>n</i> 125
10.130.2d	54	TS	2.1.4148 <i>n</i> 81
10.144	14		

Old English

Beow.		Cyn.	
2705	134 <i>n</i> 49	<i>El.</i> 1237	54
3150–3152	52		
870	48		

Old Norse

Bdr.		Hym.	
3	158 <i>m</i> 12	22	134
Eil		Ls.	
<i>Pdr</i> 3 ^{III}	57	45.3	39
		55.6	39
EVald		Steinn	
<i>Pórr</i> 1 ^{III}	57	<i>Óldr</i> 10.2	124 <i>m</i> 8
Gylf.		VSt	
21	39	<i>Erf</i> 1 ^{III}	57
Ht.			
68.4	55		

Irish

Amr. Col. Ch.		Cath Maige Tuired	
52	54	125	47, 48

Sumerian Texts

Huwawa A		Huwawa B	
123	99	90–95	99
178–180	100		

Pindar's *Pythian Twelve* is the only choral lyric epinicion in our possession composed for the winner of a non-athletic competition. Often regarded as an ode of straightforward interpretation, close analysis of the text reveals that it presents several challenges to modern readers. This book offers an updated translation of the text and an investigation of the main interpretative issues of the epinicion with the aid of historical linguistics. By identifying devices which Pindar might have inherited from earlier periods of poetic language, the study provides insights into the thematic aspects of the ode as well as on Pindar's compositional technique.

LAURA MASSETTI, Ph.D. (2016), University of Cologne, is Researcher at University of Naples "L'Orientale", where she teaches Greek Language and Literature. Her scientific interests comprise Greek Literature, Historical Linguistics, Comparative Mythology, and Religion.

ISBN 978-90-04-68807-0



9 789004 688070

ISSN 2667-3770

BRILL.COM/ALAC

Laura Massetti - 978-90-04-69413-2

Downloaded from Brill.com 04/17/2024 02:04:47AM

via Open Access.

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>